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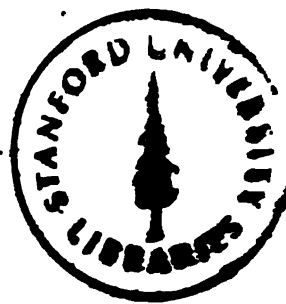
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1. The first part of the paper is devoted to the study of the properties of the function $f(x)$ defined by the equation

$$f(x) = \int_0^x \frac{1}{1+t^2} dt$$

It is shown that the function $f(x)$ is increasing and concave down on the interval $(-\infty, \infty)$. Moreover, the function $f(x)$ has a horizontal asymptote at $y = \frac{\pi}{2}$ as $x \rightarrow \infty$ and a vertical asymptote at $x = 0$ as $y \rightarrow -\infty$. The function $f(x)$ is also shown to be odd, i.e., $f(-x) = -f(x)$.

2. The second part of the paper is devoted to the study of the function $g(x)$ defined by the equation

$$g(x) = \int_0^x \frac{1}{1+t^4} dt$$

It is shown that the function $g(x)$ is increasing and concave down on the interval $(-\infty, \infty)$. Moreover, the function $g(x)$ has a horizontal asymptote at $y = \frac{\pi}{4}$ as $x \rightarrow \infty$ and a vertical asymptote at $x = 0$ as $y \rightarrow -\infty$. The function $g(x)$ is also shown to be even, i.e., $g(-x) = g(x)$.



THE
HISTORY OF MASSACHUSETTS,

FROM THE
Landing of the Pilgrims to the Present Time.

INCLUDING

A NARRATIVE OF THE PERSECUTIONS BY STATE AND CHURCH IN ENGLAND;
THE EARLY VOYAGES TO NORTH AMERICA; THE EXPLORATIONS OF
THE EARLY SETTLERS; THEIR HARDSHIPS, SUFFERINGS, AND
CONFLICTS WITH THE SAVAGES; THE RISE OF COLONIAL
POWER; THE BIRTH OF INDEPENDENCE; THE FOR-
MATION OF THE COMMONWEALTH, AND THE
GRADUAL PROGRESS OF THE STATE FROM
ITS EARLIEST INFANCY TO ITS
PRESENT HIGH POSITION.

BY

GEORGE LOWELL AUSTIN.

BOSTON:

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19 SPRING LANE.

PREFACE.

WHEN the traveller, after a long journey, has at length arrived at his destination, he lays down his burden, and for a while reflects upon the varying scenes through which he has just passed. Likewise, the people of these United States, while standing at the dawn of a new century, are mindful of the privileges and privations of their forefathers, and are reviewing the past, with gratitude to that divine Providence who has conducted the nation through the maze of doubt and of danger to prosperity and peace.

In the following pages I have endeavored to trace the sequence of events which constitute the history of Massachusetts from the landing of the Pilgrims to the present time. Massachusetts has a history which both she and her sister states may well regard with feelings of pride; and in this hour, when the Centennial celebrations of great events are rekindling the fires of patriotism and the ardor of filial devotion, it is especially fitting that her sons should seek to explore her annals of the past in the light of the present. Within her borders were sown the seeds which,

blooming and ripening, have given birth to a great nation. Here came, and lived, and died its early founders. Here American freedom raised its first voice, and here "it still lives in the strength of its manhood, and full of its original spirit." In the words of her greatest orator and statesman, "Massachusetts needs no encomium. There she is,—behold her, and judge for yourselves. There is her history,—the world knows it by heart."

While aiming to overlook nothing of interest and of importance in the history of the state, I have purposely refrained from imparting to the narrative the completeness and fullness of detail which would justly be demanded in a work of greater pretension. I may be permitted to say that I have written this volume for the people, to whom, with all its imperfections, it is now submitted, in the hope that it will be found not wholly undeserving of their attention. If the special student should find that it falls short of what other writers might accomplish, the foregoing statement must serve as my sole apology.

In a work of this character, the historian can lay no claim to originality. As another has said, "it is not his province to create facts, but to take those already furnished" in the best sources of information. The researches of earlier historians have been such as to render almost unnecessary any special investigation on the part of those who follow after them; and the facts, such as they exist, are well known and easily accessible, either in print or

manuscript. In the preparation of my narrative, I have endeavored to make good use of the material afforded me, and have relied, for the most part, on those writers who were contemporary with the events which they describe. At the same time, I have had constantly before me the works of the principal later historians, and have derived no small advantage from the published Collections and Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society, and from its volumes of lectures upon the early history of the state. While treating my subject, I have generally followed the arrangement adopted by Barry, whose History is by far the most comprehensive and important that has yet appeared. To the student it is an invaluable mine of facts; but to the ordinary reader, whose interest in the past is measured by his leisure moments, it is to be feared that the work is much too copious to prove of large and enduring service.

With regard to the following pages, this much may be said in truth. While all preceding historians have ended their labors either with or before the year 1820, it is believed that this is the first attempt yet made to trace the sequence of events following this date. The intervening period is full of interest and of vital importance, alike to the citizen and to humanity. It has witnessed the birth of conflicting opinions; the rise and progress of new parties in the arena of politics; the sudden outburst of passions which had long been dormant; the vindication of right and the abolition of wrong. Last, but

not least, the period has been emphasized by a struggle, which, beginning in mistrust, continuing in bloodshed, and ending in the uplifting of truth and the downfall of error, has rendered discord and disunion forever impossible, and has sealed the hearts of the nation as one.

The proudest boast of all is, that Massachusetts and South Carolina, too long alienated by prejudices and false precepts, stand to-day as they stood when together they went through the Revolution,—shoulder to shoulder, hand in hand, and united in purpose and principle. While we cherish in memory the great names which seal the glory and honor of Massachusetts, let us not forget how much we owe to those heroes of the south, whose renown “is of the treasures of the whole country.”

I must not fail to acknowledge my sense of obligation to the library of Harvard College, of the Massachusetts Historical Society, and to the Boston Public Library, which have been opened to me as freely as if they were my own possessions. To those, my friends, also, who have, either by the loan of rare material or by the generous offering of suggestions, and of encouragement, in no small degree facilitated my endeavors, I here express my indebtedness and thanks. To the people of Massachusetts I dedicate whatever there is of worth and interest in the volume which is now set before them.

CAMBRIDGE, July, 1875.

CONTENTS.

CHAPTER I.

THE PLYMOUTH COLONY.

Religious Parties in England. — Character of James I. — His Policy. — The Parliament of 1604. — The King's Proclamation. — Flight of the Independents. — The Pilgrims in Leyden. — Agents sent to England. — The English in North America. — The London and Plymouth Colonies. — The Pilgrims leave England. — The Compact. — Forefathers' Rock. — Hardships. — The Spring of 1621. — Treaty with Massasoit. — A Local Government instituted. — Death of John Carver. — Thanksgiving. — A new Patent. — A League against the Colonies. — The Ships of Master Weston. — Settlement at Wessagusset. — Illness of Massasoit. — Plot against Weston's Colony. — Standish sent to Wessagusset. — Overthrow of Weston's Colony. — Fate of Weston. — Regulation of the Fisheries. — Distress of the Colonists. — Arrival of new Emigrants. — Colony of Robert Gorges. — Plot of Lyford and Oldham. — Their Expulsion. — The Dorchester Company founded. — The Colony at Cape Ann. — Intercourse with the Dutch. — De Rasieres in Plymouth. — Connection with the Merchant Adventurers dissolved. — Mr. Allerton goes to England. — Settlement at Mount Wollaston. — Morton of Merry Mount. — A new Grant obtained. — Progress of Settlement. . . . 1-26

CHAPTER II.

THE MASSACHUSETTS COLONY.

Accession of Charles I. — The Dorchester Company dissolved. — Patent of the Massachusetts Colony. — The Massachusetts Company formed. — Emigration under Endicott. — Local Government established. — Emigration under Higginson. — Settlement at Charlestown. — Church organized at Salem. — Episcopacy expelled. — Cradock's Proposal. — John Winthrop. — His Associates. — Transfer of the Charter. — Emigration under Winthrop. — Mortality in the Colony. — Dispersion of the Settlers. — A Fast appointed. — Arrival of Supplies. — An Excur-

CONTENTS.

sion to Plymouth. — New Accessions. — Churches organized. — Administration of Governor Winthrop. — Dudley chosen Governor. — Arrival of new Emigrants. — Henry Vane. — Chosen Governor. — Opposition. — Anne Hutchinson. — Her Popularity. — Charges against her. — A Synod convened. — Fate of Mrs. Hutchinson. — Samuel Gorton. — His Banishment to Rhode Island. — His Arrest. — Winthrop re-elected. — Progress of Settlement. — Connecticut settled. — Hostility of the Pequots. — Expedition to Block Island. — Roger Williams. — His Banishment. — His Removal to Providence. — His Character. — His Intercourse with the Indians. — War declared. — Mason's Expedition. — Close of the War. 27-53

CHAPTER III.

THE CONFEDERACY OF THE COLONIES.

Puritan Legislation. — Limitation of the Elective Franchise. — Oath of Allegiance. — House of Representatives established. — The "Body of Liberties." — Abstract of the Code. — Morality of the People. — Difficulties with England. — The Defenders of the Colonies. — Tyranny of Charles I. — Appointment of a Special Commission. — Measures of Defence. — Mr. Winslow sent to England. — His Imprisonment. — Dissolution of the New England Council. — A *Quo Warranto* issued. — Internal Enemies. — Petition to the King. — The Spirit of Independence. — Confederacy proposed. — New Hampshire joined to Massachusetts. — Difficulties with the French. — The Conduct of La Tour. — Affray with Hocking and D'Auluey. — Condition of the Colonists. — Progress of Agriculture. — Commerce and Manufactures. — Education fostered. — Harvard College founded. — Its Early History. — Grammar Schools. — A Printing Press erected. — Population of New England. — The Confederacy of the Colonies. — The Preamble. — Articles of Confederation. — Voice of Hooker. 54-76

CHAPTER IV.

MASSACHUSETTS AND CHARLES II.

Death of Charles I. — Meeting of the Long Parliament. — Political Discussions. — Cromwell and the Colonies. — Hostility of the Dutch. — The Quakers. — The Era of Persecution. — Accession of Charles II. — Addresses sent to England. — The King's Response. — A Declaration of Rights. — Agents visit England. — An alarming Rumor. — Arrival of Royal Commissioners. — A Petition to the King. — The Chagrin of the Commissioners. — Departure of the Same. — The Defiance of Massachusetts. — A Season of Quiet. 77-95

CHAPTER V.

KING PHILIP'S WAR.

The wild Tribes of New England. — Missionary Enterprise. — John Eliot. — The Praying Indians. — Philip of Mount Hope. — The War begins. — Causes. — Attack on Swanzy. — Movements of the English. — Encounter at Brookfield. — Hadley surprised. — Attack on Deerfield. — Fresh Troops raised. — Attack on Fort Narragansett. — The Lancaster Massacre. — Story of Mrs. Rowlandson. — The Defeat of Captain Pierce. — Distress of the Indians. — The Contest at Turner's Falls. — Flight of Philip. — The Courage of Captain Church. — Death of Philip. — End of the War. 96-116

CHAPTER VI.

THE DOWNFALL OF THE CHARTER.

Prosperity of Massachusetts. — Edmund Randolph. — Complaints of Gorges and Mason. — Threats of the King. — Agents sent to England. — A War against the Charter. — A *Quo Warranto* issued. — Accession of James II. — Joseph Dudley. — Arrival of Andros. — His arbitrary Government. — Accession of William of Orange. — The Tidings reach Boston. — Andros imprisoned. — The Province Charter. 117-128

CHAPTER VII.

THE PROVINCE OF MASSACHUSETTS BAY.

Revision of the Colonial Laws. — Sir William Phips. — His Policy. — A Party Collision. — Administration of Stoughton. — Administration of Bellamont. — Administration of Dudley. — The Unpopularity of Dudley. — The French in North America. — The Expedition against Port Royal. — War declared. — The English at Quebec. — The Valor of Frontenac. — Attack on Port Royal. — Failure of the Expedition. — The Colonists in Despair. — Ravages of the Indians. — Attack on Haverhill. — Story of Hannah Dustin. — The Peace of Ryswick. — Renewal of Hostilities. — The Conference at Casco. — Attack on Deerfield. — The Williams Tragedy. — Second Attack on Haverhill. — A new Expedition against the French. — Surrender of Port Royal. — A Fleet arrives at Boston. — The Disaster at Quebec. — The Reduction of Canada abandoned. 129-153

CHAPTER VIII.

THE WITCHCRAFT DELUSION.

Privations of the Early Settlers. — Evidences of Bewitchment. — The Controversy at Salem. — Parris and his Family. — Persecution renewed. — Cotton Mather. — A Court convened. — Progress of the Trials. — The Story of Mrs. Carey. — Oyer and Terminer Court established. — Susanna Martin. — Rebecca Nurse. — Gallows Hill. — George Burroughs. — Other Victims. — Margaret Jacobs and Giles Corey. — Sorrow in Salem. — Mather's "Invisible Wonders." — The End of Persecution. — The People of Andover. — Parris driven from Salem. — The Lesson of the Tragedy. 154-174

CHAPTER IX.

THE SPIRIT OF THE PEOPLE.

Money Affairs. — Governor Shute. — The Commerce of Massachusetts. — The King's Policy. — Autocracy of England. — A Controversy with the Governor. — The Small-pox in Boston. — Hostility of the French. — Conflict at Norridgewock. — Death of Sebastian Rasles. — Lovewell's Expedition. — Peace declared. — William Dummer. — Governor Burnet. — Opposed by the Legislature. — Dummer's Advice. — Governor Belcher. — War between England and Spain. — A fruitless Campaign. — Character of Belcher. — Administration of Governor Shirley. — The Great Awakening. — George Whitefield. — Renewed Controversies. — War with France. — The English at Canseau. — Shirley's Ignorance. — The Siege of Louisburg. — Capture of the "Vigilant." — Progress of the Siege. — The Surrender of Louisburg. — The Joy of America. — The Conquest of Canada proposed. — Disaster to the French Fleet. — Capture of Fort Massachusetts by the French. — The Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle. — Impressment of American Seamen. — The Result. — The Census of 1748. — Commercial Wealth of the Province. 175-200

CHAPTER X.

THE FRENCH AND INDIAN WAR.

The Claims of France. — The Projects of the English. — Halifax settled. — The Ambition of Governor Shirley. — Commencement of Hostilities. — George Washington. — The Surrender of Fort Necessity. — The Congress of 1754. — Plans of Union. — Character of the Confederacy. — Adjournment of the Congress. — Failure of the Plan. — Franklin visits Boston. — Correspondence between Shirley and Franklin. — En-

encroachments of the French. — Forts erected by the Americans. — The Conference at Alexandria. — Braddock's Projects for conducting the War. — Expedition of Braddock. — Expedition of Shirley. — Expedition to Crown Point. — Dieskau sent to America. — Battle of Lake George. — Defeat of Dieskau. — Expedition to Nova Scotia. — Movements of Winslow. — Character of the Acadians. — Removal of the Acadians. — Position of the Forces. — Conference at New York. — Plans of Shirley. — Proceedings of the Legislature of Massachusetts. — Proceedings of Parliament. — Recall of Shirley. — The Earl of Loudoun appointed Commander-in-Chief. — Affairs in the Army. — Affairs at Oswego. — Fall of Oswego. — Pitt appointed Prime Minister of England. — Pownall appointed Governor of Massachusetts. — Attack on Fort William Henry. — Its Capture. — The Americans despondent. — Loudoun recalled. — Capture of Louisburg. — Reduction of Fort Du Quesne. — Failure of the Crown Point Expedition. — The new Campaign. — Siege of Fort Niagara. — Crown Point forsaken by the French. — Siege of Quebec. — Wolfe and Montcalm. — Surrender of Quebec. — Conclusion of the War. 201-225

CHAPTER XI.

THE STAMP ACT.

The Prophecy of Charles Davenant. — The Wisdom of Richard Hooker. — Contests with the Crown. — Shirley supports the Prerogative. — Bill for Strengthening the Same. — A Stamp Tax proposed. — Massachusetts imposes a Stamp Tax. — Bernard appointed Governor. — The Work of Abuse. — Otis and his Associates. — Character of Hutchinson. — His "History" and "Letters." — Accession of George III. — Trial of the Revenue Officers. — Gridley's Argument. — Thacher's Reply. — Speech of Otis. — The Opinion of John Adams. — Pitt resigns his Office. — The Earl of Egremont his Successor. — Otis's Speech at the Close of the French War. — Townshend's Scheme. — Grenville's Scheme. — Change in the Ministry. — Advice of the Lords of Trade. — The Stamp Act proposed. — Action of the General Court. — Samuel Adams. — Address to the House of Commons. — Action of Parliament. — The Stamp Act passed. — The News reaches America. — Action of the General Court. — The Mutiny Act. — Change in the Ministry. — Oliver hung in Effigy. — Proclamation of the Governor. — Hutchinson's House attacked. — Another Change in the Ministry. — Message of the Governor. — Views of John Adams. — Congress at New York. — Course of the British Ministry. — The First of November. — Oliver resigns his Office. — The Repeal of the Stamp Act proposed. — Speech of Pitt. — Speech of Grenville. — Reply of Pitt. — Examination of Franklin. — Debate on the Repeal. — The Stamp Act repealed. 226-256

CHAPTER XII.

MILITARY DESPOTISM IN THE PROVINCE.

Celebration of the Repeal of the Stamp Act. — Changes in the British Ministry. — Pitt created Earl of Chatham. — Affairs in England. — Course of Townshend. — Course of Shelburne. — Course of the French Minister. — The Revenue Bill. — Public Spirit in America. — Course of the Boston Merchants. — Proceedings of the General Court. — Course of Hutchinson. — Impressment of Seamen. — Seizure of the "Liberty." — A Town-meeting called. — Address to the Governor. — Arrival of Troops in Boston. — The King's Speech. — Debates in Parliament. — A new Legislature convened. — Controversy with the Governor. — Close of Bernard's Administration. — Hutchinson appointed Governor. — Speech of Pitt. — Speech of Camden. — Reply of Lord North. — Affairs in Boston. — Murder of Snider. — The Boston Massacre. — Meeting of the Citizens. — Trial of the Soldiers. — The Responsible Parties 257-277

CHAPTER XIII.

THE PROGRESS OF THE STRUGGLE.

The American Question in Parliament. — The Controversy with Hutchinson. — Burke's Resolves. — The General Court prorogued. — A Season of Quiet. — Samuel Adams. — The Foundation for American Union. — Revenue Projects. — The Third of November. — A Convention in Faneuil Hall. — A Meeting in the Old South. — The Boston Tea-party. — The Debates in Parliament. — Arrival of General Gage. — Departure of the Governor. — A Plan for Union. — The Continental Congress. — A Provincial Congress organized. — The Last Appeal of Chatham. 278-298

CHAPTER XIV.

LEXINGTON AND CONCORD.

Proceedings of the Committees of Safety. — The Movements of Gage. — Paul Revere. — Hancock and Adams. — March of the British. — The Yeomanry of Lexington. — The Massacre on Lexington Common. — The Alarm in Concord. — Assembling of the Militia. — Arrival of the British. — Captain Timothy Wheeler. — Fight at the Old North Bridge. — Retreat of the Enemy. — Skirmishing. — The British re-enforced. — The Halt at Bunker Hill. — The Roll of Honor. 299-310

CHAPTER XV.

BUNKER HILL, AND THE SIEGE OF BOSTON.

Meeting of the Provincial Congress. — Preparing for War. — Washington chosen Commander-in-Chief. — Movements of the British. — Prescott ordered to Bunker Hill. — The March. — Fortifications raised. — The Morning of the 17th of June. — Gage holds a Council of War. — The British Advance. — Position of the Americans. — The First Attack. — The Second Attack. — The Burning of Charlestown. — The Third Attack. — Retreat of the Americans. — Death of Warren. — Gage's Proclamation. — Washington in Cambridge. — New Fortifications raised. — The News reaches England. — Distress of the British Army. — Dorchester Heights fortified. — Howe's Chagrin. — The Seventh of March. — Evacuation of Boston. — Condition of the Metropolis. 311-331

CHAPTER XVI.

THE WAR FOR INDEPENDENCE.

Boston Harbor fortified. — Action of the General Court. — Fresh Troops required. — The Resolutions of the Seventh of June. — The Declaration of Independence. — Speech of John Adams. — The Debate in Congress. — The Final Vote. — Adoption of the Declaration. — How received by the People. — Affairs in the Autumn. — Paper Money issued. — The Naval Armament of Massachusetts. — Success of the British Army. — Surrender of General Burgoyne. — A Tax levied. — Affairs in Rhode Island. — A Desire for Peace. — The New Year. — The Penobscot Expedition. — Complaints of the People. — Overtures for Peace. — Negotiation. — Close of the War. 332-346

CHAPTER XVII.

ADOPTION OF THE STATE CONSTITUTION.

Proceedings of the General Court. — A Convention at Cambridge. — The Interests of Science. — The Dark Day. — The National Bank. — The Massachusetts Mint. — Establishment of the Supreme Judicial Court. — Slavery in Massachusetts. — Election of Governor Bowdoin. — The Portland Convention. — Harvard College favored. — A Dispute settled. — Society at the Close of the Revolution. — Habits of the People. — The Country Folk. — The first Play-house erected. — Manner of Dress. — The Census of 1784. 347-363

CHAPTER XVIII.

SHAYS' REBELLION.

Massachusetts at the Close of the War. — Great Excitement. — The Hatfield Convention. — The Courts Interrupted. — The Spirit of Insurrection. — The Militia ordered out. — Daniel Shays. — Proceedings of the General Court. — Warrants issued. — Fresh Troops raised. — The Contest at Springfield. — Pursuit of the Insurgents. — Indemnity promised. — General Lincoln's Letter. — Close of the Rebellion. — Re-election of Governor Hancock. 364-375

CHAPTER XIX.

ADOPTION OF THE FEDERAL CONSTITUTION.

The Philadelphia Convention. — A Constitution discussed. — Presented to Congress. — The Massachusetts Convention. — A long Discussion. — Debate on the Slavery Question. — Speech of General Heath. — The Constitution ratified. — Amendments drawn up. — Inauguration of President Washington. — His Visit to New England. — The Federalists and the Anti-federalists. — Proceedings of the General Congress. — Confidence regained. — Internal Improvements. — Governor Adams. — France and the United States. — Citizen Genet. — John Jay. — Treaty with Great Britain. — Opposition to the Same. — Washington's Reply. — The Treaty ratified. — Election of Governor Sumner. — President Adams. — Commissioners sent to France. — The Negotiation. — A War commenced. — Death of Governor Sumner. — Election of Caleb Strong. — President Jefferson. — James Sullivan. — Party Feelings. — An Embargo laid. — President Madison. — Levi Lincoln. — Christopher Gore. — Election of Governor Gerry. 376-396

CHAPTER XX.

THE WAR OF 1812.

The Policy of the General Government. — Message of Governor Gerry. — Re-election of Caleb Strong. — "Gerrymandering." — Causes of Controversy. — Madison's Message. — War declared against Great Britain. — Opposition of Massachusetts. — Address of the Senate. — Address of the House. — Correspondence between Governor Strong and General Dearborn. — Madison's System of Impressment. — Progress of the War. — The Hartford Convention. — Peace declared. — Industry in Massachusetts. — Election of Governor Brooks. — Maine becomes a State. — The Revision of the State Constitution. 397-410

CHAPTER XXI.

THE ERA OF POLITICS.

The Missouri Question. — The "Missouri Compromise." — Census of 1820. — Pauperism discussed. — Daniel Webster. — Election of Governor Eustis. — Election of President Adams. — Levi Lincoln Governor. — His prosperous Administration. — A Lunatic Hospital established. — The Fiftieth Anniversary of Bunker Hill Battle. — Death of John Adams. — Webster elected to Congress. — The "Republican" Party. — Speech of Webster. — Election of President Jackson. — The "National Republican" Party. — Election of Governor Davis. — A dastardly Outrage. — An Indignation Meeting. — The Democratic Party. — Anti-Masonry. — Van Buren President. — Governor Everett. 411-425

CHAPTER XXII.

THE GROWTH OF PUBLIC OPINION.

Governor Everett's Administration. — Normal Schools. — The Western Railroad. — Rise of the Slavery Question. — The "Specie Circular." — Harvard College. — Administration of Governor Morton. — The Latimer Slave Case. — The North-Eastern Boundary Dispute. — Political Conventions. — Webster's Apology. — Election of Governor Briggs. — The Berkshire Jubilee. — The "Liberal Party." — Affairs in the General Court. — The Mexican War. — Charles Sumner. — Education fostered. — Address of Governor Briggs. — Death of John Quincy Adams. — The Water Supply of Boston. — The Webster-Parkman Murder. — Close of the Administration. 426-455

CHAPTER XXIII.

THE SLAVERY AGITATION.

Election of President Taylor. — The "Free Soil" Party. — The Coalition of 1850. — Administration of Governor Boutwell. — The "Fugitive Slave Bill." — Speech of Charles Sumner. — Election of Sumner to the United States Senate. — The Sims Case. — Visit of Kossuth. — Death of Daniel Webster. — Politics. — Election of Governor Clifford. — Everett chosen United States Senator. — The Labor Question. — Revision of the State Constitution. — Election of Governor Washburn. — The Burns Case. — The Kansas-Nebraska Bill. — Party Politics. — Election of Governor Gardner. — Henry Wilson elected to the United States Senate. — Know-Nothingism. — Assault on Senator Sumner. —

Election of President Buchanan. — Governor Banks. — Prosperity of the State. — The "Personal Liberty" Act. — Election of Governor Andrew. — His Inaugural Address. — War inevitable. 456-487

CHAPTER XXIV.

MASSACHUSETTS IN THE CIVIL WAR.

Inauguration of President Lincoln. — Fall of Fort Sumter. — Call for Volunteers. — The Response of Massachusetts. — The Three Months' Regiments. — Their Record. — Another call for Volunteers. — An extra Session of the Legislature. — Departure of the Three Years' Regiments. — The Battle of Ball's Bluff. — Proceedings of the Maryland Legislature. — Re-election of Governor Andrew. — The Spring of 1862. — Position of the Massachusetts Troops. — The third Call for Troops. — New Regiments recruited. — The Battle of Antietam. — The Emancipation Proclamation issued. — The colored Troops. — The Nine Months' Regiments. — Riot in Boston. — Party Conventions. — Re-election of Governor Andrew. — More Troops wanted. — Speech of Governor Andrew. — Progress of the War. — Re-election of President Lincoln. — Re-election of Governor Andrew. — Death of Edward Everett. — Surrender of General Lee. — Death of President Lincoln. — Close of the War. — Inauguration of Governor Bullock. 488-527

CHAPTER XXV.

SINCE THE WAR.

The Legislature of 1866. — The Militia Act. — The Hoosac Tunnel. — Debate on the Liquor Question. — Grant to the Troy and Greenfield Railroad. — Debt of the State. — Revival of the Liquor Question. — The Troy and Greenfield Railroad. — The Hoosac Tunnel. — Election of Governor Claflin. — Proceedings of the Legislature. — The "Peace Jubilee." — Party Conventions. — Continued Discussion of the Liquor Question. — The Prohibitory Law amended. — The Hartford and Erie Railroad. — The Legislature of 1871. — The Autumn Campaign. — Election of Governor Washburn. — The Legislature of 1872. — Political Conventions. — Election of President Grant. — The "World's Peace Jubilee." — The Boston Conflagration. — Proceedings of the Legislature. — Election of Ex-Governor Boutwell to the United States Senate. — The Liquor Question. — Legislature of 1873. — Boston enlarged. — Politics. — Death of Senator Sumner. — Election of Senator Washburn. — The Mill River Disaster. — Politics. — Legislature of 1875. — Election of Senator Dawes. — Lexington and Concord Centennial. — Bunker Hill Centennial. — Cambridge Centennial. — Politics. — Election of Governor Rice. — Death of Vice President Wilson. — Conclusion. 528-566

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS.

	PAGE
EVACUATION OF BOSTON.	FRONTISPIECE.
SAMUEL ADAMS.	230
JOHN ADAMS.	385
DANIEL WEBSTER.	413
EDWARD EVERETT.	426
CHARLES SUMNER.	462
JOHN A. ANDREW.	489
HENRY WILSON.	550

A POPULAR HISTORY OF MASSACHUSETTS.

CHAPTER I.

THE PLYMOUTH COLONY.

AT the close of the sixteenth century, four religious parties existed in England. The Catholics, or adherents of the church of Rome, were still powerful in certain localities. The Protestant element was divided into three sects—the Anglicans, or members of the English church; the Puritans, or non-conformists, who differed from the former only in a disregard of special rites and observances; and the Independents, or Separatists, who refused to sanction the founding of a national church, on the ground that it was purely contrary to the Word of God. In the minds of all classes a sort of mutual hatred had arisen, and heated controversies soon resulted in the most bitter persecutions. Had not these evils become unbearable to the weaker sects, hundreds would not so willingly have forsaken the land of their nativity and taken refuge across the sea.

After the death of Elizabeth, in 1603, James I. ascended the throne. His want of personal dignity, his coarse

buffoonery, his drunkenness, his contemptible cowardice, were only partially offset by his natural ability, his ripe scholarship, his fund of shrewdness, his mother-wit, and his ready repartee. Always a pedant, he had also a pedant's temper, and a pedant's inability to reconcile theories with actual facts. He believed, for instance, in the divine right of kings, and that a monarch was free from all control by law, or from responsibility to anything but his own royal will. This notion, founded on a blunder, was quite new to his people; but, nevertheless, it became the basis of a system of government, a doctrine which bishops preached from the pulpits, and which the Established Church was not slow to adopt.

Before his accession to the throne, King James had always professed a sincere regard for the teachings of Knox, and his open declarations naturally aroused the hopes of the Puritan sect. Ere long, however, he showed himself a dissembler. Behind his intellectual convictions lay a host of prejudices, and it was plain to discern that his favorite religion was that which most favored his ideas of "absolute monarchy." The Puritans dared to dispute his boasted infallibility, and to denounce ceremonies, which, it was alleged, "had authority in the writings of the Fathers." For this reason the king turned himself against them, swearing either to "make them conform" or to "harry them out of the kingdom." "No bishop, no king," was his motto; and he declared he would have only "one doctrine and one discipline, one religion in substance and in ceremony."¹

While men were dwelling ominously on the claims of absolutism in church and state, which were constantly on

¹ Sanderson, James I., 308.

the royal lips, the Parliament of 1604 was convened. Three fourths of the House of Commons were in sympathy with the Puritans, and the energy which characterized their action showed plainly that the insolence of the sovereign had provoked the temper of the nation at large. In his opening address, the king acknowledged the Roman to be his mother church, though defiled by "new and gross corruptions," and branded the Puritans as "a sect insufferable in a well-governed commonwealth." In July, a proclamation was issued compelling "all curates and lecturers to conform strictly to the rubrics of the prayer-book on pain of deprivation." In consequence of this edict, many subjects of the realm, fleeing "a tyrant's and a bigot's bloody laws," quitted forever the land of their birth.

The Independents suffered equally with the Puritans. The churches which they had established at Scrooby and Gainsborough were broken up. The first attempt of the members at flight was defeated; and when they made another, their wives and children were seized at the very moment of departure. At length, however, the magistrates were "glad to be rid of them at any price," and the fugitives arrived safely at Amsterdam, whence, shortly afterwards, they removed to Leyden, "a fair and beautiful city, and of a sweet situation." Of this small company — who "knew they were PILGRIMS, and looked not much on those things, but lifted up their eyes to heaven, their dearest country, and quieted their spirits," — the proudest pedigree is Massachusetts and America.¹

For several years the exiles remained in Leyden in undisturbed quiet. Still, they felt that they were strangers in a strange land. The "hardness of the place" made toil

¹ Bradford, in *Chron. Pilgrim.*, 87. Baylies, *Plym. Col.*, i. 11.

severe; the infirmities of old age crept on too soon; the young people were growing up amid corrupting influences, and without the means of obtaining an education; and, finally, the outlook betokened gloomy aspects for the future. These were potent, but not the chief, causes which prompted a speedy removal. The Pilgrims cherished a "great hope and inward zeal of laying some good foundation for the propagating and advancing of the gospel of the kingdom of Christ in remote parts of the world; yea, though they should be but as stepping-stones to others for performing of so great a work."¹

But whither should they go? Surely, not back to England, where the darkest hour of Protestantism was swiftly approaching; nor to Virginia, whence had recently come tidings of extreme suffering. In the words of Canning, they resolved, however, to turn "to the New World to redress the balance of the Old;" and in the wilds of America they hoped to plant an equality of rights and a religious freedom. "We are well weaned," wrote John Robinson, their pastor, "from the delicate milk of the mother country, and inured to the difficulties of a strange land; the people are industrious and frugal. We are knit together as a body in a most sacred covenant of the Lord, of the violation whereof we make great conscience, and by virtue whereof we hold ourselves strictly tied to all care of each other's good and of the whole. It is not with us as with men whom small things can discourage."²

The die was cast, and agents were at once sent to England to negotiate with the Virginia Company for a grant of land whereon they might "live in a distinct body by themselves,"

¹ Hubbard, Mass., 42. Chron. Pilgrim., 44-48.

² Chron. Pilgrim., 60.

and to "solicit of the king liberty of conscience." After tedious delays, a patent was obtained, together with the king's verbal promise that he would "not molest them, provided they conducted themselves peaceably." Next were put forth efforts to increase the common fund, and to secure the necessary means of transportation. Only the youngest and strongest were to be the "pioneers of the church," while the eldest and weakest were hoping to follow them at some future time. Two vessels were chartered, one the "Speedwell," of sixty tons, in Holland, and the other the "Mayflower," of one hundred and eighty tons, being procured in England. The poverty of the Pilgrims is strikingly illustrated by the fact that the whole cost of the undertaking did not exceed twelve thousand dollars!

On the day preceding that of the departure of the Pilgrims from Holland, Mr. Robinson discoursed some worthy advice to the founders of New England. When the sermon was ended, there was a feast at the pastor's house. Then farewells were said, and the emigrants hastily withdrew to Delfthaven to embark on board the Speedwell. "The last night," says one of their number, "was passed with little sleep by the most, but with friendly entertainment and Christian discourse, and other real expressions of true Christian love." On the 22d of July, 1620, the Pilgrims, "lifting up their hands to each other and their hearts for each other to the Lord God," sailed for Southampton, where the Mayflower was waiting them.¹

Before following them farther, we ought first to recall some of the earlier attempts to colonize North America. The discovery of the New World promised little for freedom; and its foremost result, indeed, was to give an enor-

¹ Chron. Pilgrim., 884; also *idem*, 88.

mous impulse to the most bigoted and tyrannical of the Continental powers, and to pour the wealth of Mexico and Peru into the treasury of Spain. But while the Spanish galleons traversed the southern seas, and Spanish settlers claimed the southern part of the great continent for the Catholic crown, the truer instinct of Englishmen drew them to the ruder and more barren districts along the shores of North America. Two years before Columbus reached the actual mainland of America, a Venetian merchant, John Cabot, sailing from Bristol in England, had landed among the icy solitudes of Labrador. In the following year, his son, Sebastian Cabot, departing from the same port, pushed south as far as Maryland, and north as high as Hudson's Bay. After a long interval, in which the western world was well nigh forgotten, Englishmen turned again to the discoveries of the Cabots. In 1584, Sir Walter Raleigh, having obtained a patent from Elizabeth, despatched two ships under Captains Amidas and Barlow. The expedition explored Albemarle and Pamlico Sounds and Roanoke Island, and then returned home with glowing accounts of a country where "men lived after the manner of the Golden Age." In the next year, Raleigh fitted out seven ships and one hundred and eight colonists to make a settlement. But the attempt proved a failure, and thus the century closed without witnessing a single permanent English colony in America.

In the year 1606, however, James I. granted charters to two companies, which had organized "for trade, settlement, and government" — the London and the Plymouth Companies. Three ships, in the succeeding year, were sent out by the London Company to plant a colony in Virginia. In the month of April they sailed up the James River, named after

their king, and in May landed and founded their colony at Jamestown. They already knew that the secret of the conquest of the New World lay simply in labor; and acting on this conviction, "the men fell to building houses and planting corn." Thus the laws and representative institutions of England were first introduced into the New World.

To return, now, to our main subject. Two weeks after their arrival at Southampton, the Pilgrims hoisted sail and started on the voyage westward. Scarcely had they lost sight of land, when the *Speedwell* sprung a leak, and was obliged to put into Plymouth. "By the consent of the whole company" she was dismissed from service; and all but twenty of her passengers were transferred to the *Mayflower*. On the 6th of September the *Mayflower*, having on board one hundred passengers, and with the wind "east-north-east, a fine small gale," again put out to sea.

For sixty-three days the ship, "freighted with the destinies of a continent," pursued its onward course. Fair weather was ere long followed by fierce winds and storms. Several of the passengers fell sick, and two were removed by death. To Stephen Hopkins was born a son, christened "*Oceanus*," who survived only a short season. On the 9th of November the sandy cliffs of Cape Cod were descried by the voyagers; and after beating about for some time, the ship came to anchor in Cape Cod harbor, when, falling upon their knees, the Pilgrims "blessed the Lord, the God of heaven, who had brought them over the vast and furious ocean, and delivered them from all perils and miseries therein." Before going ashore, the following compact was drawn up and signed by all the male members of the company, who were of age:—

"In the name of God, Amen. We, whose names are under-written, the loyal subjects of our dread sovereign lord, King James, by the grace of God, of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, King, defender of the faith, &c., having undertaken, for the glory of God, and advancement of the Christian faith and honor of our King and country, a voyage to plant the first colony in the northern parts of Virginia, do, by these presents, solemnly and mutually, in the presence of God and one another, covenant and combine ourselves together into a civil body politic, for our better ordering and preservation, and furtherance of the ends aforesaid, and by virtue hereof to enact, constitute, and frame such just and equal laws, ordinances, acts, constitutions and offices, from time to time, as shall be thought most meet and convenient for the general good of the colony; unto which we promise all due submission and obedience. In witness whereof, we have hereunder subscribed our names at Cape Cod, the 11th of November, in the year of the reign of our sovereign lord, King James, of England, France, and Ireland, the 18th, and of Scotland the 54th, A. D. 1620." ¹

On this and succeeding days parties were sent out from the ship to explore the country. Already the snow covered the earth, and it was thus with endless difficulty that they succeeded in picking out their way. At length, having formed some satisfactory notion of the locality, and eager to exchange the sea for *terra firma*, the Pilgrims, on Monday, the 11th day of December, old style, effected a landing upon FOREFATHER'S ROCK. On the 20th the settlement at Plymouth was commenced, and on the following days a fort, a storehouse, and shelter for the fami-

¹ Chron. Pilgrim., 121. Hubbard, 53, 62. Forty-one signed the compact.

lies, were erected. These buildings were of the simplest construction, and all were fashioned "of logs, with the interstices filled with sticks and clay; the roofs were covered with thatch; the chimneys were of fragments of wood, plastered with clay; and oiled paper served as a substitute for glass for the inlet of light."¹

The first winter passed by these colonists in America was marked by unprecedented suffering, and in less than four months forty-four had died. In a small burial-ground, on Cole's Hill, the survivors laid away their fallen friends, and carefully levelled and sowed with grain the earth that rested upon them. Brave and resolute men still lingered behind. There were Carver, Bradford, Brewster, Standish, Winslow, and others. Female fortitude and submission, also, were not wanting; and there, too, was "chilled and shivering childhood, houseless but for a mother's arms, couchless but for a mother's breast." From a "land to which they were never to return" the Pilgrims had come; and "hither they had brought, and here they were to fix, their hopes and their affections."²

The spring of 1621 dawned at length, and the heart-rending trials of the first winter had well nigh ceased. One March day a solitary Indian savage approached the settlement, and bade the Pilgrims, "Welcome." This was Samoset, who had come from the eastern coast, "of which he gave profitable information." He gave the English many facts relative to the surrounding regions and the wild tribes which peopled them, and said that the place of settlement which they had named Plymouth, "in memory of the hospitalities which the company had received at the last English port from which they had sailed," was by

¹ Barry, *Hist. of Mass.*, i. 90.

² Everett's Plymouth Address.

the natives called Patuxet. Two days later, on the 18th, Samoset reappeared with five companions, all of whom "made semblance of friendship, ate liberally of the English victuals, and sang and danced after their manner like antics." Before the month had closed, Massasoit, the chief of the Wampanoags, possessing the country north of Narragansett Bay, came in and was received with open hospitality by the settlers, who, including both wives and children, now numbered not more than fifty. A league of peace was at once concluded, which was kept inviolate for more than half a century. The "sachem" acknowledged himself "content to become the subject of King James, and gave unto" the colonists and their "heirs all the adjacent lands."¹

One of the earliest proceedings of the colony was the institution of a local government. Measures of self-defence had already been taken, and Captain Miles Standish had been intrusted with "authority of command in affairs." Several "laws and orders" were now passed, and John Carver was chosen governor. As the season advanced, the settlers turned their attention to the means of future support. Twenty acres of land were planted with corn and beans, and six acres with peas and barley. While thus toiling, fresh evils beset the patient laborers. On the day following the return of the Mayflower to England, — April 6, — Governor Carver, a man "of a public spirit as well as of a public purse," was seized with illness while at work in the fields, and died a few hours afterwards. On his first landing he had lost a son, and his broken-hearted wife soon followed him in death. William Bradford, who became the historian of the colony, was appointed as the

¹ Morton's Mem., 23, 24. Chron. Pilgrim., 180-195.

successor of Governor Carver. His first official act was to send an embassy to Massasoit, in order "to discover the country, and to strengthen and establish the league which had been formed with him."

At this time the "Massachusetts" tribe of Indians, whose capital was at Shawmut, now Boston, held a wide sway. To this tribe a trading expedition of ten men, under the command of Standish, was sent in September. They proceeded from Plymouth, in a shallop, to the "bottom of the bay,"—probably near Squantum,—thence, by a circuitous route, they reached the site of Charlestown. But their provisions soon gave out, and the explorers were obliged to return home, "with a considerable quantity of beaver, and a good report of the place."

The labors of the spring were rewarded by a bounteous harvest in the autumn. There was an abundance of wild fruits in store, and a large quantity of game had been brought in. An invitation was sent to Massasoit and his warriors to feast with the Pilgrims "after a special manner;" and on the appointed day the festival of *Thanksgiving* was instituted, and both hosts and guests partook of venison, wild turkeys, water-fowl, and other choice delicacies. It was now the month of November; and just a year had gone by since the passengers in the *Mayflower* had first sighted the cliffs of Cape Cod. At this time the "village" of Plymouth could boast of seven dwelling-houses; while of the original number of human souls that had landed on the Rock, just one half had been gathered within their graves. In the solitude of primeval forests the survivors still found courage to lay the corner-stone of American nationality.¹

¹ Chron. Pilgrim., 231.

On the anniversary of their arrival, an unknown bark was descried hovering around Cape Cod. It was the "Fortune," with thirty-five souls, "all in health," on board. The new-comers were warmly welcomed at Plymouth; but more pleasing was the letter which they brought with them from England—a new patent, "better than the former, with less limitation," from the Council for New England. This charter, it may here be said, is the oldest state paper in existence in Massachusetts.

After the Fortune had returned to England, the sad discovery was made that the supply of food on hand could not last longer than six months, "even at half-allowance." To add to the deplorable situation, the Narragansetts began to assume an attitude of defiance. At the opening of the new year—1622—a war-challenge was actually received from Canonibus, the sachem of the tribe, in the shape of a bundle of arrows wrapped in the skin of a rattlesnake. Governor Bradford, having stuffed the skin with powder and ball, sent it back with a message, saying that if Canonibus "desired war rather than peace, he might begin whenever he pleased; they were ready to receive him." This bold rejoinder produced the desired effect, and the sachem thought no more of hostilities. Nevertheless, the colonists, conscious of their own weakness, resolved to strengthen their means of defence.¹

In the month of April, while a second trading expedition "to the Massachusetts," was being planned, the startling announcement was made that the Narragansetts had leagued with Massasoit for the purpose of exterminating the English. Hobomok, an Indian guide in the employ of the colonists, refused to give credit to this intelligence, and

¹ Chron. Pilgrim., 283. Hubbard, 69.

“expressed his willingness to vouch for the fidelity of Massasoit.” It soon transpired that Hobomok was right in his belief, and that nothing of evil had been premeditated against the colony. Thus encouraged, Captain Standish and his party resumed their journey. Meanwhile, Massasoit himself, having learned of the apprehensions of his English allies, arrived at Plymouth, and demanded the surrender of Tisquantum,—an Indian guide, who had falsely accused the great chief of treachery,—in order that he might be put to death. Governor Bradford, who highly esteemed the services of Tisquantum, refused to give him up. At length, however, it was found that the “propriety of the claim in accordance with the treaty could not be disputed;” and, accordingly, the perjurer was surrendered to his doom. As the fatal moment drew nigh, “a boat was espied, which crossed before the town, and disappeared behind a headland; and the governor availing himself of this incident to justify delay, the messengers” of Massasoit, “mad with rage,” departed, and Tisquantum escaped.

Towards the last of May, tidings were brought in that a fishing-vessel, the “Sparrow,” was anchored off Damarin’s Cove, near Monhegan. As the colonists were wholly without provisions, they regarded the intelligence of good omen. Mr. Edward Winslow was despatched to the vessel, and found that it had been sent out by Messrs. Weston and Beauchamp, English merchants and adventurers. He was graciously received by the captain of the vessel, and was furnished “with a sufficiency of bread to allow each person four ounces per day until harvest.” By strict economy and by subsisting often on “muscles and clams,” the colonists began to grow better in their condition. But another draught of misery was in store for them.

Before the days of July had vanished, two ships belonging to "Master Weston" came to Plymouth. They carried on board nearly sixty men, the nucleus of a small colony. "They are no men for us," remarked Mr. Cushman; and even Master Weston himself pronounced them "rude and profane fellows." If we may safely judge from all accounts, they were not only irreligious, but also dissolute and thievish. The Pilgrims had as little as possible to do with them; and, after a brief stay in the neighborhood, the adventurers, having already obtained a patent of land, departed, and made a settlement at Wessagusset, now Weymouth. This was the first plantation established in Boston harbor.

These men thought to live without thrift, and placed all their faith in luxury and carousal. As a consequence, extreme suffering fell upon the colony, and soon its members were compelled to seek aid from Plymouth, by offering the use of one of their vessels in procuring supplies. After several fruitless attempts in this direction, Governor Bradford, having taken command of the ship, undertook to voyage "to the southward of Cape Cod." He landed at Monamoycke, now Chatham, and purchased of the Indians eight hogsheads of corn and beans. At Nauset and at Barnstable additional supplies were procured. Upon returning, the cargo of the "Swan" was equally divided between the colonists of Plymouth and Wessagusset.

A little later it was announced that Massasoit was dangerously ill. Ere messengers could reach him, the intelligence was received that the great chief was dead. But this was not the truth. As soon as the messengers reached the abode of the sachem, Mr. Edward Winslow and his companions administered "a confection of many comfortable

conserves." On the next day the chief had much improved in health, and was able to exclaim, "Now I see the English are my friends, and love me; and whilst I live I will never forget this kindness they have showed me." Before the messengers were ready to return home, Massasoit advised Hobomok of a plot against the English, and bade him to admonish the colonists "to slay the conspirators" without delay.¹

By the 23d of March, 1623, everybody in Plymouth was apprised of the impending hostilities, — which, it appears, had been provoked by the injustice of the Wessagusset colonists towards the Indians, — and Captain Standish, with a party of men, was sent to warn the former of their danger. Scarcely had he reached the settlement when the Indians came in sight, and began to hover around. One of them, as if suspecting that the plot had been discovered, approached Hobomok, and said, "Tell your captain we know what he has come for, but fear him not, neither will we shun him. Let him begin when he dare, he shall not take us unawares." Standish, although "angry in his heart," discovered no signs of rage, and waited until the conspirators, whom he recognized, were together. His own men, well armed, were ready for action. At a given signal, the door of the house — in which all had met as if for a parley — was closed, and a frightful conflict opened. One after another of the villains fell dead; their comrades were completely routed, and victory declared for the English. When the scene had ended, some of the rescued sailed in a ship for Monhegan, and soon afterwards for England. The remainder followed Standish to Plymouth. When the allies of the Massachusetts tribe heard of this proceeding,

¹ Hubbard, 77, alleges that Weston's men provoked the conspiracy.

"they forsook their houses, running to and fro like men distracted, living in swamps and other desert places, and so brought manifold diseases among themselves," whereof many died.¹

Thus one short year witnessed the beginning and the ending of the Wessagusset colony. Behold the sequel. Soon a wanderer approaches Monhegan. Embarking in a shallop, he is wrecked near the Merrimack. Indian savages rob him of his clothing; but he escapes with his life, and craves a shelter at Plymouth. So wretched a man "the sun never shone upon." And yet this is Master Weston, the Merchant Adventurer, "the companion of nobles, the founder of colonies"! His fate teaches a moral. "When," says Hubbard, "men are actuated by private interest, and are eager to carry on particular designs of their own, it is the bane of all generous and noble enterprises, and is very often rewarded with dishonor and disadvantage to the undertakers."²

In midsummer, 1623, Captain Francis West, having been commissioned by the king Admiral of New England, and instructed to restrain all unlicensed vessels from fishing upon the northern coast of America, entered upon his official duties. But, unhappily, he found the fishermen "too stubborn to submit to his authority, and the ocean too wide to be under his surveillance;" and, having relinquished his undertaking and discharged his vessel, he left for England. Forthwith the question arose as to whether the king had any right to interpose his authority in this matter. Masters of vessels regarded the interference as prompted by a monstrous assumption, and speedily petitioned Parliament for a redress of their grievances. The

¹ Winslow, in *Chron. Pilgrim.*, 845. ² Barry, i. 118. Hubbard, 72.

former claimed that no restrictions whatever ought to be laid upon the fisheries. The king remained inflexible, while the Commons, regardless of the fact that the New England Council had always exercised a monopoly in American waters, refused to coincide with him. The subject was given long consideration, and a bill revoking the restrictions was passed, which the king reluctantly signed. But the proceeding gave cause for a quarrel which lasted through very many years. As one of its immediate results, "the fishery at the banks was suddenly and disastrously checked, the number of vessels diminishing in five years from four hundred to one hundred and fifty; and in the excitement which prevailed, those merchants who had purchased Monhegan, and furnished it with stores, sold their property, and withdrew from the business."

From the beginning of this year, the condition in which the colonists found themselves was most painful. Indeed, during the spring they were actually reduced to want; and "by the time their corn was planted, their victuals were spent, and they knew not at night where to have a bit in the morning; nor had they corn or bread for three or four months together." The prodigality of the Wessagusset colonists was, as previously described, one of the main causes of this distress; while another was "the clause in their compact by which all that was raised in the colony was placed in a common stock." Still the Plymouth settlers were not disheartened; and even a drought, which set in in May, and, lasting for six weeks, very nearly ruined the grain in the fields, did not lead them to abandon all hope for the future.

A better day dawned unexpectedly. Rain fell "without either wind or thunder, and by degrees in that abun-

dance as that the earth was thoroughly wet and soaked therewith." The tender plants and grain stalks revived, and once more "a day of thanksgiving unto the Lord" was solemnized. The Indians who had shared the despondency of the colonists, said to them, "Now we see Englishmen's God is a good God; for he hath heard you and sent you rain, and that without storms, and tempests, and thunder, which usually we have with our rain, which breaks down our corn; but yours stands whole and good still. Surely your God is a good God."¹

In July the colonists saw two more vessels sail into their harbor, — the "Little James" and the "Anne," — together having on board sixty passengers. We are told that "on landing and witnessing the miserable condition of their predecessors, they were daunted and dismayed. Some wished themselves in England again; while others, in the distress of their friends, gaunt with hunger and meanly clad, imagined they saw their own lot pictured. The scene presented a strange mixture of chagrin, sorrow, sympathy, and joy, — chagrin and sorrow that the circumstances of the colony were so mean and impoverished, sympathy and joy caused by the meeting of parents and children, husbands and wives, brothers and sisters, after a long and painful separation."² Two months later the Anne returned to England; the Little James, having been built for the exclusive use of the colony, remained.

In the autumn of 1623, Captain Robert Gorges, son of Sir Ferdinando, having been appointed lieutenant-general of the country, arrived in the Massachusetts Bay. He had received from the Plymouth Council a grant of "the Massachusetts," embracing "all the shores and coasts for ten

¹ Chron. Pilgrim., 348.

² Barry, i. 125.

English miles in a straight line towards the north-east, and thirty miles into the mainland, through all this breadth." He was accompanied by William Morrell, a clergyman of the Established Church, who came to exercise a sort of jurisdiction over ecclesiastical affairs. Gorges first visited the site of the Wessagusset colony, where, shortly afterwards, he planted a new colony. For nearly a year he labored arduously for the success of his enterprise, when necessity urged his quick return to England. Morrell followed him in a brief season.

When the *Anne* sailed for England, Mr. Edward Winslow departed therein for the purpose of transacting business with the Merchant Adventurers. He returned home during the winter, in the "*Charity*," with a "full supply of clothing and a quantity of neat cattle," and also a number of letters addressed to his associates at Plymouth. Whilst in England, Mr. Winslow obtained a patent of lands at Cape Ann, executed by Edmund, Lord Sheffield, a member of the Council for New England, in favor of Robert Cushman and Edward Winslow, of Plymouth, "for themselves and their associates." Of this patent, and of the plantation which was erected under it, more remains to be said hereafter.

Unfortunately for the colonists, an Episcopal minister, John Lyford, accompanied Mr. Winslow on his return voyage. The coming of Lyford gave rise to a serious disturbance. Although his personal character was far from being respectable, the colonists received him graciously, and admitted him to their councils. Soon, however, he was found plotting with one John Oldham, who had come over in the *Anne*, and between whom "there was nothing but private whisperings and meetings, they feeding themselves

and others with what they should bring to pass in England, by the faction of their friends there ; which brought others as well as themselves into a fool's paradise." These men addressed letters to their friends in England, and placed them to be forwarded, in trust, with the captain of the *Charity*. A portion of the letters were intercepted by Governor Bradford.

Having matured his scheme, Lyford withdrew from the colonial church, and observed the Episcopal form of worship. A court was convened, and the governor preferred charges against him, and supported them with the intercepted letters. Both Lyford and Oldham were sentenced to banishment. In the spring of 1625, the latter, who had gone to live at Nantasket, returned to Plymouth, and again proved obnoxious. Rigorous treatment, however, soon calmed his disposition, and he eventually became a foremost member of the Massachusetts colony. This whole affair, when judged from a modern stand-point, must always be looked upon with regret. Religious zeal had already deepened into violent sectarianism, of which, as it will shortly appear, the present was not the most deplorable result.

Nearly five years had elapsed since a settlement had been made at Plymouth. Its fame, however small it may have seemed, was not insignificant, and had spread itself far and wide. Already extensive fisheries were being carried on at "Munhiggon" by merchants of Bristol, and stages had been erected at Cape Ann by merchants of Dorchester. Hundreds in England watched the progress of American colonization with interest, and impatiently awaited the fulfilment of grander and more important results. The Rev. Mr. White, of Dorchester, having called to his assistance certain gentlemen of means residing in his locality, organ-

ized, on a capital of three thousand pounds, what was known as the Dorchester Company, which, forming a connection with the grantees of the Sheffield patent, shipped to America a number of persons to form a settlement at Cape Ann. By invitation, the banished Lyford became the minister of these people. Not long afterwards, a rupture occurred between the Plymouth colonists and the Merchant Adventurers, occasioned, probably, by errors on both sides. From the beginning "the connection of the merchants with the colonists was more mercenary than moral; and the connection of the colonists with the merchants was involuntary and profitless."¹

Circumstances were such that neither party in the quarrel wished for a reconciliation; and hence, in order to close up affairs in a proper manner, Captain Standish was sent to England, in the autumn of 1625, bearing a letter to the Council for New England, "soliciting their interference." Notwithstanding that his mission was partially unsuccessful, he won the favor and esteem of several members of the Council, with whom he negotiated a loan of one hundred and fifty pounds. In the following spring he returned home with a supply of goods, and also with the sorrowful intelligence of the deaths of John Robinson and of Mr. Cushman. During his absence, his associates, rejoicing over a bountiful harvest and the continuance of good health, had sent out a trading party to the region of the Kennebec, which brought back "seven hundred pounds of beaver in exchange for their corn." The reward of this and other similar enterprises was amply sufficient to cancel the debt which Standish had contracted in England, as well as others of longer standing. The rupture with the Merchant Ad-

¹ *Mass. Hist. Col.*, vol. iii.

venturers was not, therefore, so fraught with evil as many at first had conjectured.

The Plymouth people firmly believed in thrift and enterprise. As nothing was to be obtained without labor, so nothing could be gained without venture. To be always upon the watch for likely risks was their motto. In the spring of 1627, messengers from the Dutch settlement at Manhattan arrived at Plymouth, bearing "fairly written" letters from the secretary of New Netherland. The Pilgrims were shocked to read themselves "high titled" in these epistles, but were exceedingly well pleased with the "agreeable overtures" to trade that were therein conveyed. These overtures were accepted; and inasmuch as the good folk at Manhattan "had monopolized nearly all the fur-trade at Narragansett and Buzzard's Bay, they were desired to forbear trading in those parts, as they were held to be within the limits of the Plymouth patent." Whereupon the Dutch took offence, and asserted their intention to defend rights which, they alleged, were delegated to themselves by the States General of Holland. The Pilgrims forwarded this defiant response to their friends in England, and solicited advice.

In September, 1627, De Rasieres, secretary of New Netherland, came in person to Plymouth, where he was hospitably entertained. He proposed offers of trade, which the colonists accepted. Upon returning, he carried letters to the director general of Manhattan, in which the Pilgrims insisted that the Dutch should "clear the title of their planting in these parts, which his majesty hath, by patent, granted to divers his nobles and subjects of quality." Meanwhile Mr. Allerton, who had been sent to England to wind up the connection with the Merchant Adventurers, returned

home. While abroad, he had effected a compact with the Adventurers, the terms of which were, that, "for eighteen hundred pounds, to be paid at the Royal Exchange every Michaelmas, in nine equal annual instalments, the first in 1628, the Company sold to 'the Pilgrims' all their interest in the plantation, including merchandise and lands." This compact, being deemed a favorable one, was fully sanctioned by the colonists; and, in order to be able to fulfil its conditions, "a new partnership was formed, into which every head of a family and every prudent young man were admitted; the trade was to be managed as before; and provisions were made for the payment of the debts of the colony, and the division of the neat cattle and lands among the settlers."¹ Enterprise received a fresh impetus, and the limits of the same were extended. A pinnace was built at Manomet; a house was erected, servants lodged therein, "ever in readiness to go out with the boat," and corn was planted in the neighboring field. Such was the beginning of Sandwich.

The colonists were now, in one sense, independent, and in a condition to act for themselves. Again Mr. Allerton sailed for England, and in 1628 secured a "patent for the Kennebec," and paid the first instalment of two hundred pounds to the Adventurers. It was in this way that the partnership with the latter was dissolved, and the colonists entered upon a new period of happiness and prosperity. From these considerations we now turn to an episode which marks the history of these years.

So early as 1625, about thirty persons, under the command of one Captain Wollaston, began a settlement on an eminence in Quincy, — still known as Mount Wollaston.

¹ Barry, i. 139. Hubbard, 98.

Among the number was Thomas Morton, a lawyer, of whom little else is handed down. In a year's time Wollaston went to Virginia, leaving a Mr. Filcher in charge of the colony. During his absence, Morton and his retainers deposed Filcher, and amid scenes of drunkenness and debauchery "such as these western wilds had never before witnessed," themselves assumed all control. Morton became "lord of misrule," and to the place gave the name of Merry Mount. "Bacchanalian revelry," says an historian, "reigned triumphant; and around a tall May-pole, decked with garlands, the leader of the party, with his companions and the dissolute Indian women of the vicinity, like so many Hecates, danced the Saturnalia of wantonness and lewdness. Merry Mount became the school of Atheism, the asylum of the vicious, and the resort of the profligate."

One of the first acts of Morton, after coming into power, was to instruct the Indians in the use of fire-arms. He even sold to them upwards of twenty guns and a large quantity of ammunition, and then departed to England for more. This proceeding was deemed by the Plymouth colonists one of misconduct; and a meeting of the chief planters was held to take the matter into consideration. It was declared that "so public a mischief" ought to be guarded against.

In response to an entreaty to desist from such acts, Morton said, "Proclamations are no laws, and enforce no penalties. The king is dead, and his displeasure dies with him. I shall trade with the natives despite of your protests." This rejoinder, couched in the most profane and insulting language, was sufficient cause for wrath; and Captain Standish, with a company of men, was ordered to arrest Morton. The latter made a vain show of bravado, but was

finally brought a prisoner to Plymouth. In the custody of John Oldham, he was sent to England to be tried, where, however, by "audacious and colored pictures," he successfully pleaded his own cause, and was released. In the spring of 1629 he returned to Plymouth as the secretary of Mr. Allerton, and within a short time after his arrival again "resorted to his old haunts." A second time "the Lord of Merry Mount" was shipped to England, on suspicion of murder. Being tried and acquitted, he came back to America, and died "in obscurity at Piscataqua." It remains to be said that the scene of his rascality "became the seat of an honest, thriving, and sober township," and latterly noted as the birthplace of the Adamses. The story of Morton's career furnishes one of the most singular episodes in the history of Massachusetts, and has variously been judged by different writers. Morton himself was the author of several works, and in his "New English Canaan," presents the following ludicrous account of the aborigines: "The Indians may be rather accompted as living richly, wanting nothing that is needful, and to be commended for leading a contented life, the younger being ruled by the elder, and the elder ruled by the Powahs, and the Powahs are ruled by the Devill, and then you may imagine what good rule is like to be amongst them." ¹

Meanwhile the affairs of the Plymouth colony were in a prosperous condition. In the autumn of 1629 a new grant was obtained from England; and eleven years later the patent from the New England Council was surrendered by Governor Bradford to the people. In 1636 the laws of the colony were revised, and the powers of the executive were defined. Three years afterwards, deputies from the several

¹ Morton, N. Eng. Can. Barry, Bancroft, &c.

towns in the colony assembled, and assumed the authority which had hitherto been lodged with the whole body of freemen. At the close of 1643, there were, besides Plymouth, six settled towns in the colony, namely: Duxbury, so named from its being the home of the military chief (*dux*) Miles Standish; Scituate, Taunton, Barnstable, Sandwich, and Yarmouth, — all of which were in a most flourishing state.

It is impossible for the present generation to look back upon the career of the Pilgrims without being impressed with the magnitude and the importance of their mission. Goaded by religious persecution, these separatists "showed the way to an asylum for those who would go to the wilderness for the purity of religion or the liberty of conscience." Reared amid hardships and want, early inured to toil, and unaccustomed to luxury and wealth, they set the example of colonizing New England, "and formed the mould for the civil and religious character of its institutions." These men "were the servants of posterity, the benefactors of succeeding generations. In the history of the world, many pages are devoted to commemorate the men who have besieged cities, subdued provinces, or overthrown empires. In the eye of reason and of truth, a colony is a better offering than a victory; the citizens of the United States should rather cherish the memory of those who founded a state on the basis of democratic liberty; the fathers of the country; the men who, as they first trod the soil of the New World, scattered the seminal principles of republican freedom and national independence. They enjoyed in anticipation the thought of their extending influence, and the fame which their grateful successors would award to their virtues." ¹

¹ Bancroft, i. 320.

CHAPTER II.

THE MASSACHUSETTS COLONY.

AFTER the death of James I., in 1625, his son Charles I., succeeded to the throne. He cherished the political theories of his predecessor, showed only small respect for Parliaments, to whom he granted "liberty of counsel, but not of control," and did not hesitate to invade the rights and religious scruples of his people. One of his earliest and most obnoxious acts was to depose the lenient Abbott, and to place the infamous Laud at the head of ecclesiastical affairs. As a result of this proceeding, the severest penalties were imposed upon all those who refused to become members of the Established Church. The commotions in church and state bore heavily upon the Puritans, who now began to look around them for some safe retreat. Already the good reports from the Plymouth colony had awakened their attention; and to America they also dared to turn "for the tranquil and peaceful enjoyment" of their rights.¹

The Dorchester Company, which, as has been related in the previous chapter, established a colony at Cape Ann in the autumn of 1623, was dissolved in 1626. Mr. Roger Conant, who had been placed in charge of the colony, soon became dissatisfied with the location, and removed to "a fruitful neck of land" at Naumkeag, now Salem, "secretly

¹ Barry, i. 153. Parl. Hist. Eng., ix. 69, seq.

conceiving in his mind that in following times it might prove a receptacle for such as, upon the account of religion, would be willing to begin a foreign plantation in this part of the world, of which he gave intimation to his friends in England."¹ Although the colony which was presided over by this excellent man was exceedingly diminutive, — numbering, perhaps, not more than fifty persons, — still it should always be remembered as having been the germ of the renowned Massachusetts colony.

Mr. Conant lost no time in informing the Rev. John White, the father of the Cape Ann colony, and "under God one of the chief founders of the Massachusetts colony," of his new project. The latter immediately wrote back, saying that, if Mr. Conant should, together with John Woodbury, John Balch, and Peter Palfreys, remain at Naumkeag, he would obtain for them a patent, and forward men and supplies. The companions of Mr. Conant at first refused to enter into this engagement, preferring rather to remove to Virginia. They were persuaded, however, to tarry; and in consequence of this resolution, their names have descended to the present generation as "the sentinels of Puritanism on the Bay of Massachusetts."² Faithful to his promise, Mr. White obtained a patent, in 1628, conveying to six individuals, Sir Henry Rosewell, Sir John Young, John Humphrey, Thomas Southcote, John Endicott, and Simon Whetcomb, "that part of New England lying between three miles to the north of the Merrimac and three miles to the south of the Charles River, and of every part thereof, in the Massachusetts Bay; and in length between the described breadth, from the Atlantic Ocean to the South Sea."³

¹ Hubbard, *Hist.*, 102-107.

² Hubbard, 108. 3 M. H. Coll., iii. 326, seq.

³ Bancroft, i. 330.

This patent having been secured, Mr. White labored hard to advance the enterprise still farther. It required all the eloquence and argument at his command to interest others in the undertaking. After some delay, Rosewell, Young, and Southcote withdrew, and the rest, having entered into a partnership with certain London merchants, assumed all rights by purchase, and formed themselves into an organization known as the Massachusetts Company, of which John Endicott was chosen a leading representative, and was commissioned "to carry on the plantation of the Dorchester agents, and to make way for the settling of another colony in the Massachusetts."¹ In June, 1628, Endicott, with a small company of emigrants, left England, and in the same year arrived safely at Naumkeag, where the former at once "entered upon the duties of his office as magistrate and governor."² At the close of the year, the colony numbered about one hundred persons, who had come hither mostly "from Dorchester and some places adjoining."³

In the following year the colony was largely increased by new arrivals, and arrangements were set on foot for the establishing of a local government, to be styled "The Governor and Council of London's Plantation in the Massachusetts Bay, in New England." Thirteen members were chosen to constitute this government. John Endicott was appointed governor; and John Browne, Samuel Browne, Samuel Sharpe, Thomas Graves, and the three ministers, constituted his council. "These eight chose three others, from among the new emigrants, or those of the previous year, at their option, and the 'old planters,' two more, making, with the governor, thirteen in all. This government was strictly subordinate to the company in England;

¹ Hubbard, 109.

² Barry, i. 162.

³ Chron. Mass., ch. xvii.

its members were not chosen by the freemen of the place; and though its powers were extensive, they were by no means unlimited. Punishment for ordinary offences could be inflicted, but to some cases neither its jurisdiction nor that of the company at this time extended; and in these cases the guilty parties were to be returned to England for the final adjudication of their offences, where the supreme legislative authority then lay.”¹

Land was apportioned among the settlers, and restrictions were laid upon their manner of habitation. A just and honorable policy was adopted towards the Indians. All territory was to be purchased from them by agreement, and nothing was to be wrested by force. Little or no familiar intercourse was to be maintained with them, however; but a deference and respect were to be cherished for their natural rights. The moral regulation of the colony was an object of the first importance. The Sabbath was to be “celebrated in a religious manner;” profanity was absolutely forbidden under penalty; industry was to be always encouraged, and idleness proscribed. As moderation was deemed the first duty of a pioneer, all cases of drunkenness were to be exemplarily punished.

In June, 1629, a company of emigrants, under the conduct of Mr. Francis Higginson, a minister of Leicestershire, and a man “mighty in the Scriptures and learned in the tongues,” arrived at Naumkeag. Mr. Higginson is still remembered as the author of “*New England’s Plantation*,” a small volume, first published in London, in 1630, and which contains one of the best descriptions of the country. Shortly after the arrival of this company, three brothers, Ralph, Richard, and William Sprague, and others, made a journey

¹ Barry, i. 165.

to "Mishawum," now Charlestown. The report which they brought back of the place was extremely favorable, and led to the laying out of a town in that locality, "with streets around the hill." Before the year had drawn to a close, there were living at Charlestown nearly one hundred inhabitants, and at Salem at least four hundred. It will thus be seen that the Puritan colony had far outstripped in numbers that of the impoverished Pilgrims.

In midsummer a council was held with the "Plymouth brethren" with regard to the organization of a church. On this interesting occasion thirty members were gathered; a choice was made of the elders and deacons, and a covenant and confession of faith were subscribed. Mr. Samuel Skelton, of Lincolnshire, was ordained pastor, and Mr. Higginson teacher of this small body. Thus was established the church at Salem,—the second in Massachusetts on the basis of Independent Congregationalism.¹

And yet there were a few among these Puritans who pronounced these proceedings arbitrary. Two brothers, John and Samuel Browne, complained bitterly because the service of the Episcopal Church was "taken of no account," and thus aroused the indiscretion of their associates. Governor Endicott, "finding these two brothers to be of high spirits, and their speeches and practices tending to mutiny and faction," told them that "New England was no place for them, and therefore he sent them both back to England at the return of the ships the same year."² Posterity has variously judged the conduct of Mr. Endicott. But whatever may be thought of it now, it is certainly to be regretted that an exclusive spirit should so early have taken

¹ Mather, *Magnalia*. Felt's *Hist. of Salem*. Barry, i. 171

² Hubbard, 64.

root in a colony founded, as was the Massachusetts colony, upon the broad grounds of Christian toleration.

We have now to record one of the most unique transactions in the history of English colonization, and one, too, which has oftentimes been the subject of warm discussion. In July, 1629, Matthew Cradock, governor of the Massachusetts Company, presented at one of the courts "certain propositions conceived by himself, namely: that for the advancement of the plantation, the inducing and encouraging persons of worth and quality to transport themselves and families thither, and for other weighty reasons therein contained, to transfer the government of the plantation to those that shall inhabit there, and not to continue the same in subordination to the company here, as it now is."¹

Hitherto the Massachusetts Company and the Massachusetts colony had been closely identified; but now they were virtually distinct bodies, "the latter subordinate to the former, and dependent upon it for support." The change which Mr. Cradock proposed was one of the most vital importance, and consequently it awakened great interest. This is not the place to enter into any discussion either of its merits or demerits, or even to revive the question of its legality. It is sufficient for us to know that Justice Story has written that "the whole structure of the charter" granted to the Massachusetts Company "presupposes the residence of the company in England, and the transaction of all its business there;"² while, on the other hand, not a few eminent jurists have expressed the opinion that the so-called transfer of the charter was wholly legal. The

¹ Hubbard, 123.

² Story, *Com. on Const.*, i. 48. See Washburn's *Judicial History*, 13. Chalmers's *Annals*, 178.

colonists themselves maintained that "their charter made them a corporation on the place." Whether it was legal or not, the latter opinion was certainly democratic, and was sanctioned by the Long Parliament of England. "Other plantations," writes John Winthrop, in his Journal,¹ "have been undertaken at the charge of others in England, and the planters have their dependence upon the companies there, and those planters go and come chiefly for matters of profit; but we came to abide here, and to plant the gospel, and people the country; and herein God hath marvellously blessed us."

Some time before the agreement was made relative to the transfer of the charter, twelve gentlemen in Cambridge, England, signed a compact that if "before the last of September the government and patent of the plantation were legally transferred, to remain with the emigrants, they, with such of their families as were to go with them, would, by the first of March, 1630, embark to inhabit and continue in New England."² Inasmuch as the transfer was to blend the company and the colony into one, a meeting was held at the earliest moment for the purpose of choosing new officers.

There was one man associated with the organization whose name should never be forgotten. This was John Winthrop, a native of Groton, a lawyer by profession, and a Christian by example. He was "accustomed from youth to an easy and familiar intercourse with persons of refinement and intelligence; associating with the worthiest of the commoners, and nobility of the realm; conversant with theology as well as with the law; possessed of a comfortable estate of at least six hundred pounds' income; eminent for

¹ Winthrop, ii. 366.

² Chron. Mass., ch. xiv.

his liberality, and distinguished for his hospitality, — he was now in the maturity of his powers and the vigor of his years, having just turned forty — a period when, if ever, the character of the man is developed, and the full energies of his being are brought into activity.”¹ Mr. Winthrop was a gentleman, who possessed both the esteem and confidence of his fellows; and thus he enjoys the high honor of being the first governor chosen by the freemen of the Massachusetts colony.

Associated with him in the enterprise were Thomas Dudley, Richard Saltonstall, Isaac Johnson, John Humphrey, William Coddington, Simon Bradstreet, and other persons of influence and respectability. They were, in great part, men of the professional and middle classes, some of them of large landed estates, some zealous clergymen, some shrewd London lawyers, or young scholars from Oxford. The bulk were God-fearing farmers from Lincolnshire and the eastern counties. They desired, in fact, “only the best,” as sharers in their enterprise; they were driven forth from their fatherland, not by earthly want, nor by the greed of gold, nor by the lust of adventure, but by the fear of God and the zeal for a godly worship. How fortunate for New England that it was settled by such men!

On the 28th of August, 1629, “after a long and serious debate” before the court, the government and patent of the Massachusetts colony were settled in New England; and the associates of Winthrop were then “confirmed in the desire to found a new and a better commonwealth beyond the Atlantic, even though it might require the sale of their hereditary estates, and hazard the inheritance of their children.” Did such a desire annihilate the love of

¹ Barry, i. 184.

country? "I shall call that my country," wrote Winthrop, "where I may most glorify God, and enjoy the presence of my dearest friends."¹ The fit word was spoken; and the Puritan emigration began on such a scale as England had never before witnessed.

At the appointed season, in March, 1630, a fleet of eleven vessels, "filled with passengers of all occupations, skilled in all kinds of faculties needful for the planting of a new colony," set sail for the New World. "Farewell, dear England!" was the cry which burst from the first little company of emigrants, as its shores faded from their sight. "Our hearts," said one to the brethren left behind, "shall be fountains of tears for your everlasting welfare, when we shall be in our poor cottages in the wilderness." The voyage was stormy and tempestuous; but by the 8th of July all the vessels were safely moored in the harbor of Salem. Governor Winthrop himself arrived about the middle of June.

On the 17th of June, Winthrop, with others, "sailed up the Mystic," and there found "a good place." A second party, setting out shortly afterwards, found a place "three leagues up Charles River," which suited better. On the 10th of July, a removal from Salem was determined upon, because "it did not suit for the capital town," and the majority of the emigrants proceeded to Charlestown, where they erected houses around the hill.² Not many days had gone by before a distressing mortality, occasioned by hardships and a want of nourishing food, carried off many of the colonists. The venerable Higginson, the wives of Pyncheon and Coddington, and of Phillips and Alcock, were among the number. But the saddest death of all was that of the

¹ Winthrop, i. 432.

² Hubbard, 134. Chron. Mass., 378.

Lady Arabella, wife of Isaac Johnson, Esq., who had come "from a paradise of plenty and pleasure into a wilderness of wants." One month later, her husband also died, "overwhelmed in a flood of tears and grief."¹

The sufferings of the people of Charlestown were such that a further dispersion was agreed upon. Before the year had closed, two hundred had passed from the living. To Watertown went Sir Richard Saltonstall, Mr. Phillips, and others; Mr. Bradstreet and Mr. Dudley and others, settled at Newtown, now Cambridge; Mr. Pynchon and others, at Roxbury; while of the remainder some repaired to Lynn, some to Mystic, and a few, including Governor Winthrop and Mr. Wilson, settled at Shawmut, and there laid the foundations of Boston. Over a hundred persons, who had become disheartened, returned home to England.²

The succeeding winter brought no amelioration of hardships; and before spring was ushered in, "the wolf of famine" was prowling around nearly every door. The governor's last loaf of bread was in the oven, and the prospect before all was death. The 6th of February was appointed a day of fasting and prayer. But on the day preceding, a bright omen appeared. A vessel was descried off Nantasket, — the "Lyon," — laden with provisions, and having twenty-six passengers on board. Gratitude supplanted grief, and "the fast was changed into a thanksgiving, which was celebrated throughout all the colony with ardent rejoicing."³ Happily for the colonists, the Indians gave no real cause for apprehension. The policy of the English disposed them to peace rather than to war, and won from them the most pleasing tokens of friendship.

¹ Winthrop, i. 40-44.

² Chron. Mass., 313. 2 M. H. Coll. iv. 202, seq. Winthrop, i. 448.

³ Barry, i. 196. Hubbard, 189.

A visit to Plymouth by Governor Winthrop and others, in the autumn of 1632, tended to unite the two sister colonies in fidelity and love. Constant accessions strengthened the Massachusetts colony, and gave promise of a brilliant future. In 1633, among the number of those who came over from England were John Haynes, afterwards governor of Massachusetts, and still later of Connecticut, whose name is worthy to be always associated with that of Winthrop; Thomas Leverett, a prominent layman, for many years elder of the church of Boston; John Cotton, one of the most remarkable characters in our history; Thomas Hooker, "the light of the western churches, and the rich pearl which Europe gave to America, a prodigy of learning and an eloquent orator;" and Samuel Stone, a worthy pastor of the church at Hartford. It was once a saying of the colonists that "the God of heaven had supplied them with what would in some sort answer their three great temporal necessities — Cotton for their clothing, Hooker for their fishing, and Stone for their building."¹

One of our early writers affirms that "it is as unnatural for a right New England man to live without an able ministry as for a smith to work his iron without a fire."² In other words, it ought never to be supposed that the spiritual affairs of the colony were permitted to fall into disrepute. One after another, in quick succession, religious societies were formed, and churches were gathered. On the 30th of July, — about three weeks after the colonists had reached Charlestown, — the church at Boston was organized. The church at Charlestown was gathered two weeks later. About the same time, the church at Watertown sprang into

¹ Mather, iii. ch. xvi. Young, in *Chron. Mass.*

² Johnson, in 2 M. H. Coll., vii. 40.

life; as also those at Lynn, Roxbury, Dorchester, and Newtown. Before the close of the year 1636, the Massachusetts colony could boast of at least nine churches, all of which were in a well-settled and flourishing condition, and zealous in the propagation "of their own system of orthodox faith."¹ Who can count the changes that have taken place since that day, and the sects which, springing out of the conflicting elements of the Puritan intellect, have multiplied and increased?

It has already been remarked that, when the charter was transferred from the possession of the Massachusetts Company, holding its residence in London, into the hands of the Massachusetts colony, John Winthrop was unanimously chosen governor by the freemen of the latter. It must not for a single moment be imagined that the administration of this most excellent man was all sunshine, nor that the spirits of the governed were all in full accord with the conduct and character of the chief magistrate. "In the management of such a body of men," says an historian, "exulting in their escape from the oppressions of the mother country, and luxuriating in the sense of newly-acquired freedom, it would not be strange if some errors were committed, or if those prejudices were awakened which are easily induced by conceived assumptions of authority in magistrates, or conceived encroachments upon civil and spiritual rights."²

Whether from some mistaken notion, or from some other reason, certain of his associates openly accused Mr. Winthrop of desiring to perpetuate "his incumbency of the office he held;" and, this opinion having become quite universal, the choosing of another governor was resolved upon.

¹ See *Savage* on Winthrop, i. 114.

² *Barry*, i. 204.

In vain did Mr. Cotton eulogize the virtues of his friend, and seek to implant the doctrine that "the right of an honest magistrate to his place was like that of a proprietor to his freehold, and that neither should be removed unless convicted of injustice." A new election was held in 1634, and Thomas Dudley was chosen governor, and Roger Ludlow deputy governor.

Before retiring from his office, Governor Winthrop was subjected to a mortification which his sensitive mind keenly felt. Although he stood high in the hearts of his countrymen, he was not allowed to withdraw into private life without being annoyed by the petty jealousies of his rivals. A false imputation was placed upon his honesty, and he was called upon to give an account of the receipts and disbursements during his administration. In vindication of his character, he made an open and frank reply. "In all these things," he said, "I refer myself to the wisdom and justice of the court, with this protestation — that it repenteth me not of my cost or labor bestowed in the service of this commonwealth, but do heartily bless the Lord our God that he hath been pleased to honor me so far as to call for anything he hath bestowed upon me, for the service of his church and people here, the prosperity whereof, and his gracious acceptance, shall be an abundant recompense to me. I conclude with this one request, which in justice may not be denied me — that, as it stands upon record that upon the discharge of my office I was called to account, so this my declaration may be recorded also, lest hereafter, when I shall be forgotten, some blemish may lie upon my posterity, when there shall be nothing to clear it."¹

Notwithstanding that very many were earnest to raise

¹ Winthrop, Hist., i. 476.

Mr. Dudley to office, his popularity did not permit him to hold it longer than one year; when John Haynes, who had served as one of his assistants, was appointed governor, and Richard Bellingham deputy governor. During this administration over three thousand emigrants left England, and came over and settled in the colony. There were not a few distinguished men among them, including Richard Mather, long the minister of the church at Dorchester; Anthony Thatcher, a writer of repute; Hugh Peters, afterwards the counsellor of Oliver Cromwell; and Thomas Shepard, the worthy pastor of the first church in Cambridge. Not one of the preceding names, however, possessed the eminence, at the time, of that of Sir Henry Vane, "a young gentleman of excellent parts," who freely relinquished the gayeties and splendors of a brilliant court, and, attaching himself to Puritanism, came to New England "to enjoy the ordinances of Christ in their purity."¹

Although scarcely twenty-five years of age, he was, even in youth, one of the most remarkable characters that the Old World gave to the New. The son of a secretary of state, he was destined to play one of the first parts in the coming revolution, while his arrival in Massachusetts seemed to herald the coming of the very heads of the Puritan movement. The excellence of his genius won for him the majestic encomiums of Milton. "If he were not superior to Hampden," wrote Lord Clarendon, "he was inferior to no other man; his whole life made good the imagination that there was in him something extraordinary."²

Sir Henry arrived at a time when the freemen were preparing for a new election. Flattered by the thought that

¹ Neal, *N. Eng. Hist.*, i. 144. Hutchinson, i. 65

² *Hist. Rebellion*, i. 186-188.

so brilliant a personage should have condescended to join their ranks, and blind to the fact that he lacked both years and experience, they unwisely chose him governor. This was in 1636, at a time when it had become "the theme of wonder and admiration with them all that such a man, so fitted by his talents and position to sway the destinies of men in courts and palaces, should choose the better part with the remote and unfriended exiles of the obscure wilderness of Massachusetts."¹ Sudden outbursts of popular fervor always come to a speedy end, and errors of imprudence are more keenly felt by those who have allowed themselves to become their victims. In reality, Vane came only as "a sojourner, and not as a permanent resident; neither was he imbued with the colonial prejudices, the genius of the place; and his clear mind, unbiassed by previous discussions, and fresh from the public business of England, saw distinctly what the colonists did not wish to see — the really wide difference between their practice under their charter and the meaning of that instrument on the principles of English jurisprudence."²

Political factions were already creating a disturbance, and party strife was dissevering the bonds of reason and justice. On the very day when Vane was ushered into office, opposition began to set face against him; and from this time onward it did not cease to embarrass his government at every step. The first open manifestation of this intense feeling was occasioned by a very trivial incident, which must here be related.

Two years before, Mr. Endicott had cut the red cross from the flag at Salem, as a "relic of Popery insufferable in a Puritan community."³ This proceeding was censured

¹ Foster's *Statesmen of the Comm.*, 268.

² Winthrop, i. 175, seq.

³ Bancroft, i. 384.

as both "rash and uncharitable;" but shortly afterwards the same judges declared the use of a cross in an ensign to be unlawful, and proposed to change it to the "red and white rose." When, three months later, the ship "St. Patrick," belonging to Sir Thomas Wentworth, afterwards Earl of Strafford, approached Castle Island, her commander was ordered to strike her flag. He obeyed, and then complained of the order as "a great injury." Next, the ship "Hector" sailed into the harbor; and one of her mates, finding the king's colors not displayed on the fort, denounced the colonists as "traitors and rebels." This affair caused such a commotion that Governor Vane felt it to be his duty to seek advice. A consultation was held with "the ministers," to whom Governor Vane expressed his determination to display the king's colors on the fort. Although Mr. Winthrop strongly protested against it, the resolve was immediately put into execution. Not a suit of un mutilated colors could be found in the colony; and the magistrates were, accordingly, forced to accept the loan of the suits of two ship captains,—and this even when "fully persuaded that the use of a cross in an ensign was idolatrous."

There was still another cause which inflamed opposition to the administration of Governor Vane. Of the number of those who had come over to America, in the emigration of 1634, was Anne Hutchinson, the wife of William Hutchinson, of Lincolnshire, "a woman of a ready wit and a bold spirit."¹ Such was her admirable understanding, that even her enemies could never speak of her without acknowledging her eloquence and ability. Soon after her arrival she became a member of the Boston church, and, finding

¹ Winthrop, i. 239.

that women were debarred from speaking in the religious meetings of the week, and believing that "the elder women" should "teach the younger," she "established separate female assemblies, of which she was the leader, and in which her didactic powers and her gifts in devotional performances were conspicuously exercised."¹ These gatherings embraced many foremost members of the sex, and became immensely popular. The discussions were wholly based upon religious themes; and much ability was displayed in the expounding of passages of Scripture, and the resolution of questions of doctrine. In thought and feeling they were "mothers' meetings" of a genuine order.

Mrs. Hutchinson received encouragement not from her female associates alone. John Wheelwright, who had married her husband's sister, publicly advocated her opinions; and even Mr. Cotton and Governor Vane openly avowed themselves her firm supporters. This opened the eyes of the people at large, of whom hundreds soon began to regard her with great admiration. The majority of the members of the Boston church were so "tinctured with her views," that Mr. Wheelwright was "called to be a teacher there;" but the eloquence of Mr. Winthrop defeated this proposal, and Mr. Wheelwright was, instead, "called to a new church, to be gathered at Mount Wollaston," now Braintree.²

Meanwhile the popularity of Mrs. Hutchinson increased to such an extent, and the opposition of some of the clergy became so formidable, that a theological warfare burst out in many of the churches. Contrary to the teachings of the ministers, Mrs. Hutchinson maintained that "outward signs of discipleship might be displayed by a hypocrite, and hence

¹ Barry, i. 245.

² Winthrop, i. 241. Hubbard, 286, seq.

that the 'sanctification' which embraced these signs was not infallible evidence of 'justification,' or true Christian discipleship. The clergy, also, who were believers in the personality of the Holy Ghost, denied, for the most part, his union with the regenerate in any sense; but Mrs. Hutchinson, understanding this phrase to include an embodiment of spiritual graces or gifts, maintained that in the true Christian these graces and the Spirit had their abode; or, in the language of her accusers, that there was an 'indwelling of the person of the Holy Ghost' in the heart of the true believer, 'so as to amount to a personal union' — a doctrine which, in their estimation, made 'the believer more than a creature,' and which some censured as rank 'Montanism.'"¹

The magistrates and ministers now resolved to prosecute Mrs. Hutchinson as a heretic, and a long and tedious wrangle ensued. At length the opposers of Mrs. Hutchinson proved stronger than her friends, and by the former every effort was put forth to suppress "the Hutchinsonian heresy." An order was passed prohibiting the admission of strangers into the colony without permission. Fierce speeches were made. Mr. Wilson, the pastor of the Boston church, harangued the multitude from a tree, into which he had climbed. In the midst of the excitement, Vane was turned out of the government, and in August, 1637, returned to England.²

On the 30th of the same month a synod met at Newtown, at which were present "all the teaching elders throughout the country, and some new come out of England."³ This was the first inquisitorial council ever convened in Massa-

¹ Barry, i. 248.

² Authorities, *ut supra*.

³ Johnson, in 2 M. H. Coll., iv. 84.

chusetts; and it had for its main purpose the condemnation of heresy and the settlement of the faith of all future generations. It is unnecessary to record the full proceedings of this synod, which opened with the "emptying of private passions," and closed in full harmony and understanding. During its session the public meetings of Mrs. Hutchinson were condemned, and certain questions of church discipline were, "through the grace and power of Christ, discovered, the defenders of them convinced and ashamed, the truth established, and the consciences of the saints settled, there being a most wonderful presence of Christ's spirit in that assembly held at Cambridge."¹ A three weeks' session having terminated "comfortably and cheerfully," the followers of "unlawful heresy" ceased to be formidable. At the next meeting of the General Court, however, it was "agreed to send away some of the principal" offenders. Mr. Wheelwright, who was accused of being as "busy in nourishing contentions as before," was banished from Massachusetts. Attended by a few faithful followers, he journeyed to New Hampshire, and laid the foundations of Exeter.² Mr. Cotton returned to the "bosom of the church, never more to depart." The last victim remained to be punished, and this was Mrs. Hutchinson herself. She, "being convented," says the record, "for traducing the ministers and their ministry in the country, was thereupon banished, and in the mean while was committed to Mr. Joseph Welde, of Roxbury, until the court shall dispose of her."³ Mr. Cotton himself, now "fully satisfied that he had been made her stalking-horse," and being urged

¹ Shepard, in McKenzie, *First Church in Camb.*, 57.

² Winthrop, I. 838: "Upon the acknowledgment of his evil carriages, he was received again as a member of this colony," says *Mass. Records*, III. 6.

³ *Mass. Records*, I. 207-226.

to do so, "pronounced the sentence of admonition with great solemnity, and with much zeal and detestation of her errors and pride of spirit."

This was the unkindest cut of all. The "American Jezebel," worried by her tormentors, and excommunicated in due form, followed her husband to Narragansett. From the island of Aquidneck, the ill-fated woman, now left a widow, removed, in 1642, into the territory of the Dutch, where, in the following year, she, her son-in-law, and all their family, save one child, perished by the rude weapons of Indian savages. Thus her stormy life found a stormy close; and so ended also the Antinomian strife in Massachusetts. "The principles of Anne Hutchinson," says Bancroft, "were a natural consequence of the progress of the reformation. She had imbibed them in Europe; and it is a singular fact, though easy of explanation, that, in the very year in which she was arraigned at Boston, Descartes, like herself a refugee from his country, like herself a prophetic harbinger of the spirit of the coming age, established philosophic liberty on the method of free reflection. Both asserted that the conscious judgment of the mind is the highest authority to itself. Descartes did but promulgate, under the philosophic form of free reflection, the same truth which Anne Hutchinson, with the fanaticism of impassioned conviction, avowed under the form of inward revelations."¹

Before the controversy with Mrs. Hutchinson had ended, the religious strife, disturbing the peace and harmony of the colonists, was still further increased by the arrival at Boston, in 1636, of Samuel Gorton. This man, a citizen of London, was branded, at the time, as "a proud and pestilent seducer, laden with blasphemies and familistical opinions." He left

¹ Hist. U. S., i. 391.

Boston after a short season, and settled at Plymouth; but he spent the most of his time in Rhode Island, where, says a writer, "he was almost constantly in office; and during a long life there is no instance of record of any reproach or censure cast upon him."¹

While living at Plymouth, however, he fell into a dispute with both the ministers and the magistrates, and was not only sentenced to pay a heavy fine, but was even ordered to leave the place within fourteen days. In the "extremity of winter," 1638, he departed for Rhode Island, where he was again punished for misconduct. At length he found shelter under the roof of Roger Williams, and behaved himself so ungraciously, that a majority of the inhabitants of Providence, "fearful that Gorton would expel them from their possessions," requested the interference of the magistrates of Massachusetts. Without delay, the colonial authorities assumed jurisdiction over the settlement. But Gorton, who was wont to say that "heaven was not a place; there was no heaven but in the hearts of good men, no hell but in the mind,"² was as insubordinate as ever before; and, having purchased of Miantonomo a parcel of land at Shawomet, now Warwick, he, with eleven associates, removed thither. Another difficulty arose, and Massachusetts issued a warrant requiring the appearance of the inhabitants of Shawomet at Boston. To this a reply was transmitted: "If you put forth your hand to us as countrymen, ours are in readiness for you; if your sword be drawn, ours is girt upon our thigh; if you present a gun, make haste to give the first fire, for we are come to put fire upon the earth, and it is our desire to have it speedily kindled."³ A second warrant was issued, and

¹ Savage on Winthrop, ii. 70, seq. Hubbard, ch. 47.

² Bancroft, i. 419.

³ 3 M. H. Coll., i. 5-15.

troops were sent to enforce it. . In quick haste Gorton and his friends were arrested, marched through the streets of Boston, and at the next court the leader himself was condemned as a blasphemer. The whole party "were confined with irons upon their legs, kept at work for their living, and their cattle and goods were taken to defray the expenses of the court."¹ The men were released in the spring of 1643, because, as it appears, the people were murmuring at the severity of their rulers, and shortly afterwards returned to Shawomet, and there lived out their lives without further molestation. Gorton and his partisans were, confessedly, advocates for liberty of conscience, and avowed enemies to colonial independence. The conduct of Massachusetts in this whole affair was not only impolitic, but equally unjust; and it can only be accounted for on the ground that the magistrates were betrayed into a stretch of authority by their zeal for the suppression of heresy.

The contest of 1637 ended in the re-election of Mr. Winthrop as governor, and of Mr. Dudley deputy governor. With the exception of four years, — Mr. Dudley was governor in 1640 and 1645, Mr. Bellingham in 1641, and Mr. John Endicott in 1644, — Mr. Winthrop continued in office until his death, in 1649. His administration was not only a complete triumph for himself, but was also one of great prosperity for the colony. Scarcely a week passed without witnessing the arrival of new emigrants, and the progress of settlement was proportionally rapid. Hingham was settled in 1634. Concord, Newbury, and Dedham were incorporated in the following year. Between this date and 1643, the towns of Salisbury, Lynn, North Chelsea, Rowley, Sudbury, Braintree, Woburn, Gloucester, Haver-

¹ Barry, i. 265.

hill, Wenham, and Hull were incorporated. Springfield was made a town in 1636. In 1643, four counties were erected — Suffolk, Essex, Middlesex, and Old Norfolk, together comprising just thirty towns.¹

One of the results of the intercourse between the Plymouth colonists and the Dutch was the discovery of the Connecticut River. The region lying along its banks was marvellously fertile, and was generally recommended as a "fine place for habitation and trade." In the year 1633 both the English and the Dutch laid claims to this newly-discovered country, the former by virtue of their patent, the latter by right of occupation. A controversy arose, in which the Dutch were victorious. In 1635 certain of the Massachusetts colonists, "straitened for want of room," removed from Dorchester to Mattaneag, now Windsor, where the Plymouth people had erected a trading-house. In the following spring several residents of Newtown, including Mr. Hooker and Mr. Haynes, and numbering one hundred in all, set out for Connecticut. Pursuing their way "over mountain-top, and hill, and stream, through tangled woods and dismal swamps, it was a fortnight before they reached their haven of rest."

During the summer, Captain Stone, Captain Norton, and John Oldham fell victims to the rapacity of the Pequots. This formidable tribe peopled the region lying between the Mystic and the Thames, and was able to muster no less than seven hundred warriors. The English demanded reparation for the murders which had been committed, and threatened to declare war if the request were unheeded. The Indians refused the demand, and secreted themselves at Block Island. An expedition, embracing between eighty

¹ Mass. Records, ii. 38.

and ninety men, under the command of Endicott, departed from the colony in the autumn of 1636, and proceeded rapidly into the land of the enemy, bearing a commission to "put to death the men of Block Island, but to spare the women and children; and from thence to go to the Pequots to demand the murderers of Captain Stone and other English, and one thousand fathoms of wampum for damages, and some of their children as hostages, which if they should refuse, they were to obtain it by force."¹ The party landed at Block Island, revelled for two days in scenes of devastation, and then sailed for Saybrook, at the mouth of the Connecticut.

Here Endicott received a fresh supply of boats and men from the commander of the fort at Saybrook, and, again setting out, the party entered the Pequot River, now the Thames, and held a parley with the savages. This, however, amounted to nothing; and so, after having committed further devastation, the troops, flushed with success, returned home to Boston.

Ere long the rumor was spread abroad that the Pequots were seeking to induce the Narragansetts to unite with them in exterminating the English. To Roger Williams, who alone exerted any influence among the Narragansetts, the colonists now looked for assistance. Only a little while before, Williams had been unjustly expelled from the colony, simply because he had evolved "from the alembic of his own soul the sublime principle of liberty of conscience," and had dared to affirm that "the ecclesiastical should be wholly divorced from the civil power, and that the church and the magistracy should each be confined to its appropriate sphere." Endless difficulties conspired to render his presence obnoxious, and his teachings "erroneous and

¹ Winthrop, i. 229.

dangerous" to his "associates in the church of Christ." Being constantly persecuted both by the church and the state, and arraigned on a charge of sedition, he was brought to trial, and sentenced "to depart out of our jurisdiction within six weeks, all the ministers, save one, approving the sentence."¹ Leaving Salem in the winter of 1635, the magnanimous exile turned his steps towards the shores of the Narragansett Bay. "Moving to the other side of the water," he, with five others, laid the foundations of Providence. On his first arrival he secured the friendship of the Narragansetts, whose sachem, Canonibus, "loved him as his son to the last gasp." The chiefs gave him lands on which to build his colony, while he, in turn, again gave away to his friends "until he gave away all."²

It cannot be denied that Roger Williams was the victim of one of the most blind-guided persecutions that has ever raged within the borders of this state. Still it ought to be remembered that his sentence of banishment was not passed without reluctance. When Governor Winthrop was urged to sign the order, he replied, "I have done enough of that work already," and to the very day of his death sought to have the cruel sentence revoked. It is not a little remarkable that nearly all of those who were foremost in procuring the banishment of Mr. Williams lived long enough to repent of the ignominious transaction. And behold the magnanimity of the founder of Rhode Island! Fearless in his attacks on the spirit of intolerance, the doctrine of persecution, he never permitted himself to traduce either his oppressors or the colony of Massachusetts. "I did ever

¹ Winthrop, i. 204.

² Backus, i. 290. One of the most eloquent tributes ever paid to this noble-minded man is that of Bancroft, U. S., i. 367-382.

from my soul honor and love them, even when their judgment led them to afflict me," are his own words.¹ It is not strange, indeed, that "many hearts were touched with relentings."

To such a man it was that the colonists, in their sore distress, had the face to turn for assistance. Nor was their entreaty vain. Having received letters from Vane and the council of Massachusetts urging him to prevent the league, Roger Williams, "putting his life in his hands," embarked in a frail canoe, and hastened to the house of the sachem of the Narragansetts. Already the Pequot ambassadors had arrived before him, and were skilfully plying arguments in their own behalf. For three days and nights the conference continued. But the eloquence of Williams finally prevailed, and, a few days later, Miantonomo and two sons of Canonicus repaired to Boston, and there signed a treaty of peace and alliance.

The Pequots, having thus been foiled in their negotiations, "set out upon a course of greater insolence than before, and slew all they found in the way." Not a day passed which did not bear witness to some new tragedy, and the most heartless cruelties were perpetrated. Roused to immediate action, a court was convened at Hartford, and war was decreed. Ninety men were mustered into service, and placed under the command of Captain John Mason, who had fought under Sir Thomas Fairfax in the Netherlands. Uncas, sachem of the Mohegans, with about eighty warriors, joined with the English as an ally.

On the 25th of May, 1637, Captain Mason, with his little force, encamped "near a swamp, between two hills, on land now in Groton, about two miles from Fort Mystic, where

¹ Savage on Winthrop.

the Pequots had assembled to hold their festival, aided by the light of a brilliant moon." Before daybreak an attack was made upon the fort. Captain Mason advanced upon one entrance, and Captain Underhill upon the other. An Indian sentinel, awakened by the barking of a dog, spread the alarm, and at once a fierce encounter ensued. The savages outnumbered their assailants nearly four to one, and, fighting hand to hand, victory was tardy. "We must burn them!" shouted Mason; and at the word a brand was seized, and the wigwams were fired. With terrific speed the flames rolled on. The carnage was complete. In about an hour the frightful work was ended, and the rising sun bore witness of a triumph. Nearly six hundred Indians, men, women, and children, perished in this scene. The flower of the tribe was gone. Although the gallant Mason was forced to encounter three hundred or more Pequots, as they proudly advanced from their second fort, he succeeded in routing them also, and making good his escape to Hartford.

A few days later, the Massachusetts troops, commanded by Captain Israel Stoughton, of Dorchester, arrived, and united with Captain Mason. The main body of the fugitive Pequots was pursued into a swamp; their wigwams were burned, and Sassacus, their sachem, was murdered. Reduced to utter want, those who survived—about two hundred in all—surrendered to the English, by whom they were distributed among the other tribes. On the return of the troops, a day of thanksgiving was ordered to be observed, in which all the towns participated. Thus ended the first Indian war in New England. Its best result was, that it struck terror into the hearts of the savages, and secured a long peace.

CHAPTER III.

THE CONFEDERACY OF THE COLONIES.

A STUDY of the civil policy of the Massachusetts colony reveals the fact that sturdy and rigid Puritanism lay at the basis of all legislation. The people themselves placed greater faith in the five points of Calvinism than in the five points of a well-founded government—an hereditary monarchy, an established church, an order of nobility, a standing army, and a military police. Upon all occasions, and under all circumstances, they subordinated the government to the church, and believed that no sort of government was admissible which was not so shaped as to secure the life and welfare of the church. “When a commonwealth,” they affirmed, “hath liberty to mould his own frame, the Scripture hath given full direction for the ordering of the same, and that in such sort as may best maintain the *euxetia* of the church.” And again: “Better the commonwealth be fashioned to the setting forth of God’s house, which is his church, than to accommodate the church frame to the civil estate.”¹ It is always well to bear this truth in mind, when one is disposed to censure and explain the actions of our forefathers.

The colonists possessed many invaluable rights, of which the charter of Charles I. was the cherished palladium. They held their lands as their own possessions, and forbade

¹ Hutchinson, Coll., 27, 437.

strangers planting "at any place within the limits of the patent without leave from the governor and assistants, or the major part of them." We have already seen in what manner they dealt with those persons whose religious views they considered "dangerous." "If we be here a corporation," they maintained, "established by free consent, if the place of our cohabitation be our own, then no man hath right to come in to us without our consent." When Vane became governor, he opposed this spirit of limitation; but Winthrop's reply prevailed. "The intent of the law," said he, "is to preserve the welfare of the body, and, for this end, to have none received into any fellowship with us who are likely to disturb the same; and this intent, I am sure, is lawful and good."¹

In 1631 it was ordered that "no man shall be admitted to the freedom of this body politic but such as are members of some of the churches of the same." A most arbitrary law was this; for in no way can piety be promoted at the jeopardy of freedom and of justice. The purpose of its makers was evidently to build up a Puritan community on as exclusive a foundation as was that of the English Church during the reign of King James. It was as much a political regulation as it was a sectarian scruple. Such a policy was, unquestionably, a great mistake. As a writer has well said, "It vested undue power in the clergy and the church. It established a practical oligarchy of select religious votaries. It debarred from the exercise of the elective franchise all, however honest, who were unwilling to conform to the standard of colonial orthodoxy. But at the same time, it may be doubted whether a different policy could have been safely adopted without subjecting the

¹ Hutchinson, Coll., 67-100.

colonists to what they would have regarded as the greatest of all evils—the intrusion of a body of men inimical to their views, whose aim would have been to subvert their church and destroy their government.”¹

In 1634 another order was framed, compelling every male resident, twenty years old and upwards, not a freeman, to acknowledge, under oath, his subjection to the colonial government, and to promise obedience to the same. These three enactments thus secured “the allegiance of all not entitled to the immunities of citizenship.”

By the terms of the colonial charter, the principal officers were to be chosen directly by the freemen. So soon as a settlement was formed, it was ruled that the governor and deputy should be chosen by the assistants from among themselves, and these assistants by the freemen. In the following year, however, it became lawful for the “commons” to propose the names of such persons as they wished should be chosen as assistants; and shortly afterwards it was agreed that all officers should be “chosen anew every year by the whole court.” The substitution of delegates to represent the freemen was an early proceeding, and in 1632 “every town chose two men to be at the next court, to advise with the governor and assistants about the raising of a public stock, so as what they should agree upon should bind all.”² In May, 1634, a House of Representatives was established, composed of twenty-four delegates. But even then the relative power of the officers and delegates was undetermined, and a discussion upon the point arose, when the people of Newtown requested permission to remove to Connecticut, which culminated in a political controversy of many years’ duration.

¹ Barry, i. 270.

² Mass. Records, i. 87, seq.

In 1635 four of the magistrates were deputed to frame a body of laws which should bear a "resemblance to a Magna Charta." Nearly six years were spent before the code was finally completed. This "Body of Liberties," so called, comprised one hundred laws, and was adopted in December, 1641. Nathaniel Ward, of Ipswich, was the compiler of the system; and "as the author of the fundamental code," says Bancroft, "he is the most remarkable among all the early legislators of Massachusetts; he had been formerly a student and practiser in the courts of common law in England, but became a non-conforming minister; so that he was competent to combine the humane doctrines of the common law with the principles of natural right and equality, as deduced from the Bible."¹

We may here enumerate some of the more important features of this code. All general officers were to be elected annually, and recompensed from the common fund. The freemen in the several towns were to choose deputies from among themselves, "or elsewhere, as they judged fittest, who were to be paid from the treasury of the respective towns, and to serve 'at the most but one year.'" Twelve capital offences were recognized. Life, liberty, honor, and property were constantly under the protection of the law. Every man was promised equal justice under all circumstances, and had the liberty to move any question or present any petition at any court, council, or town meeting. All property was to be free from fines, and the disposition of the same by will was carefully secured and guarded. The rights of widows were respected, and the protection of the law was thrown around orphans. A refuge was granted to shipwrecked mariners, and their goods were

¹ Bancroft, i. 416.

defended against spoliation. Slavery was prohibited, except in the case of "lawful captives taken in just war, and such strangers as willingly sell themselves, or are sold to us;" all such, however, were "to have all the liberties and Christian usages which the law of God established in Israel required." The old practice of wife-whipping was absolutely forbidden, although the court reserved the right of "chastisement" under just reasons. "Inhuman, cruel, or barbarous" modes of bodily punishments were not allowable; and "no true gentleman, nor any man equal to a gentleman, was to be punished with whipping, unless his crime was very shameful, and his course of life vicious and profligate." Death was the penalty only for murder, adultery, man-stealing, rape, and bearing false witness wittingly to deprive any man of life. With regard to religious matters, all who were orthodox in judgment, and not scandalous in daily life, could become members of a church estate, and exercise all the ordinances of God. Such is a brief transcript of the Body of Liberties, which, "embracing the freedom of the commonwealth, of municipalities, of persons, and of churches according to the principles of Independency, exhibits the truest picture of the principles, character, and intentions of that people, and the best evidence of its vigor and self-dependence."¹

Says a quaint old writer, whose prophetic words may here fittingly find a place, "The air of New England, and the diet, equal if not excelling that of Old England, besides their honor of marriage, and careful preventing and punishing of furtive congression, giveth them and us no small hope of their future puissance and multitude of subjects. Herein, saith the wise man, consisteth the

¹ Bancroft, i. 418.

strength of a king, and likewise of a nation or kingdom.”¹ The moral condition of the people of New England, at this period, was equal, if not superior, to that of any other nation on the face of the globe.

Meanwhile a storm of no small magnitude was brewing. While the colonists were thus perfecting the civil policy of the commonwealth, “a thousand eyes were watching over them to pick a hole in their coats.”² The severe discipline which had been exercised by the government at Salem and elsewhere produced an early harvest of enemies, of whom several, breathing revenge, returned to England, and there murmured complaints in the ears of Mason and Gorges. These two gentlemen, who had wasted thousands of pounds in fruitless attempts at colonization, now became jealous of the Massachusetts colony, and presented a petition to the lords of the privy council, “complaining of distractions and disorders in the colony,” and demanding the speedy recall of its charter. The news of these proceedings reached Boston in February, 1633.

But New England, however, had her able defenders in the mother country, who were not afraid to speak in her behalf. Sir Richard Saltonstall, John Humphrey, and Matthew Cradock, having broached the matter before the council, were assured “that his majesty did not intend to impose the ceremonies of the Church of England” upon the colonists, “as it was considered that it was the freedom from such things that made people come over to the colony.”³ When these second tidings reached Boston, in May, a day was appointed for thanksgiving.

Although the spirit of revenge had been defeated, it did not slumber. Although the king had shown himself gra-

¹ 3 M. H. Coll., vi. 42. ² 3 M. H. Coll., ix. 244. ³ Winthrop, li. 119-123.

ciously disposed to his subjects abroad, he proved the tyrant to those at home. "Many of the best, both ministers and Christians," left England for America; and the extent of emigration was so great that it was deemed "a more ill-boding sign to the nation than the portentous blaze of comets, and the impressions in the air, at which astrologers are dismayed."¹ Dignitaries of the church and state became alarmed, and a warrant was issued, in 1634, to stay the departure of several vessels, which were then ready to sail for New England.

Nor was this all. In the same year, by royal decree, the Archbishops of York and Canterbury, and ten others, were constituted a commission to regulate and govern the New England plantations, both temporally and spiritually; and on the 1st of May, three days later, a general governor was appointed, and vessels were provided for his transfer to this country.

It was not long before the colonists received intelligence of these doings. The greatest excitement was produced. Poor as were the settlements, it was unanimously resolved to appropriate six hundred pounds for purposes of defence. Provisions were made for the erection of a fort at Boston, another at Castle Island, and for raising fortifications at Dorchester and Charlestown. All of the ministers were summoned to Boston, and their opinions were consulted. It was agreed that, if a general governor should be sent, he ought not to be accepted. "We ought," said the fathers, "to defend our lawful possessions, if we are able; and otherwise, to avoid or protract."² In the fall of 1634, Mr. Edward Winslow, of Plymouth, was sent to England as "joint agent for the colonies of Plymouth and Massachu-

¹ Bancroft, i. 406.

Winthrop, i. 171-183.

setts," in order to "obtain a commission to withstand the intrusions of the French and the Dutch at the east and at the west." He arrived safely, and was received favorably by the lords. Ere long, however, he was arrested by order of Archbishop Laud, and held a prisoner four months.

Although one evil step naturally led to another, neither could emigration be wholly stopped, nor was the courage of the colonists relaxed: For some years previous, the New England Council, whose affairs, though not always philosophical, were nevertheless conducted by a proud company of philosophers, had been involved in controversies with the rival Virginia Company and Parliament. It had, at this period, little or no authority in the New World, and was already on the point of dissolution. "Several of the company desired, as individuals, to become the proprietors of extensive territories, even at the dishonor of invalidating all their grants as a corporation. The hope of acquiring principalities subverted the sense of justice. A meeting of the lords was duly convened, and the whole coast, from Acadia to beyond the Hudson, being divided into shares, was distributed, in part at least, by lots. Whole provinces gained an owner by the drawing of a lottery."¹ In June, 1635, after presenting to the king the "humble petition of Edward, Lord Gorges, president of the Council of New England, in the name of himself and divers lords and others of the said council," praying him "to order Mr. Attorney General to draw patents" for confirmation of their several parcels of land, a formal act of surrender of the charter was executed, giving up "all and every the liberties, licenses, powers, privileges, and authorities therein granted."²

¹ Bancroft, i. 408.

² Barry, i. 288. Hubbard, 272.

The affair had now reached its most serious turn, and the colonists were in a state of intense perplexity. It was said in England that they were sworn to resist any unjust invasion of their rights. Whereupon the king and his council, fearful of the unbridled spirit of the Americans, resolved to carry out his measures of oppression still farther. A *quo warranto* was immediately brought against the Company of the Massachusetts Bay, and against fourteen of its members judgment was pronounced individually. At the same time, all the "liberties, privileges, and franchises" of the said company were "taken and seized into the king's hands." It must not be supposed, however, that by this proceeding the charter which had been granted to the Massachusetts Company was revoked. The death of Mason, the chief mover of all these aggressions, suspended, for a while at least, further interference.

Meanwhile the colony was forced to deal harshly with enemies at home. A man named Burdet, who was in reality a spy of Laud, had sent to England various charges, accusing the colonists of aiming "at sovereignty," and asserting that "it was accounted treason in their General Courts to speak of appeals to the king." In July, 1638, a letter was received at Boston, from the clerk of the privy council, containing a demand for the return of the patent. The people sent over a reply, saying that it would not "be best to send back the patent, because their friends in England would conceive that it was surrendered, and therefore the colony would be bound to receive such a governor and such orders as might be sent to them, and many bad and weak minds would think it lawful, if not necessary, to accept a general governor."¹ In their petition to

¹ Winthrop, i. 323, seq.

the king they wrote, "We came into these remote parts with his majesty's license and encouragement, under his great seal of England, and in the confidence we had of the assurance of his favor, we have transported our families and estates; and if our patent should now be taken from us, many thousand souls will be exposed to ruin, being laid open to the injuries of all men; the rest of the plantations about us, if we leave the place, will, for the most part, dissolve and go with us, and then the whole country will fall into the hands of the French or the Dutch; if we should lose all our labor, and be deprived of those liberties which his majesty hath granted us, and nothing laid to our charge, nor any failing found in point of allegiance, it will discourage all men hereafter from the like undertakings upon confidence of his majesty's royal grant; and lastly, if our patent be taken from us, the common people will conceive that his majesty hath cast them off, and that hereby they are freed from all allegiance and subjection, and therefore will be ready to confederate themselves under a new government, for their necessary safety and subsistence, which will be a dangerous example to other plantations, and perilous to ourselves, if incurring his majesty's displeasure, which we would by all means avoid." The petition concludes, "Let us be made the objects of his majesty's clemency, and not cut off in our first appeal from all hope of favor. Thus with our earnest prayer unto the King of kings for long life and prosperity to his sacred majesty and his royal family, and for all honor and welfare to your lordships, we humbly take leave."¹

But there was now no time to oppress New England,

¹ Hubbard, 269-271.

for King Charles's attention was involved in the insurrection in Scotland. The throne began to totter, and England itself was all ablaze. A letter received in June, 1639, from Mr. Cradock bore the intelligence that the lords had accepted the petition of the colonists, and had no intention to curtail their liberties. The troubles which terminated in the overthrow and death of Charles happily averted any further attempts to obtain possession of the colonial patent. The perplexities of the people, however, had already aroused a spirit of independence. The government was fast "hardening into a republic;" and a sturdy resistance against all encroachment was the watchword of the hour. The colonists were hoping, indeed, to be "joined together in one common bond."¹ It remains to be seen in what manner this cherished union was fulfilled.

The establishment of a confederacy among the Puritan colonies of New England was an all-important measure. As early as in 1637, immediately after the victories over the Pequots, such a union had been proposed. In the following year, the proposition came again into discussion, and articles of confederation were sent to the General Court at Newtown, which declined to accept them. Owing to other miscarriages, the union was not effected. In May, 1639, Mr. Haynes, the governor of the Hartford colony, and the Rev. Mr. Hooker visited Boston for the purpose of renewing the treaty. But once more negotiations were checked.

About this time the people of New Hampshire, having long been harassed by vexatious proprietary claims, and left wholly to shift for themselves, gave token of a desire to come under the government of Massachusetts. The

¹ Hubbard, 366.

people of Dover and of Portsmouth had combined themselves into bodies-politic, like their neighbors at Exeter. In 1640, four distinct governments, including one at Kittery, were established near the Piscataqua. Not one of these settlements was sure of a long continuance, and under the ruling circumstances it was deemed utterly impossible to form a general government. In consequence of the unsafety of their situation, the "lords and gentlemen" at Dover and Strawberry Bank, who held patents, "finding no means to govern the people," mutually agreed in 1641 to resign their interest of jurisdiction to Massachusetts. In the following year Exeter followed their example.¹

Some mention ought to be made here of troubles which arose with the French, who had made settlements near Cape Sable. These emigrants had been sent over to America by Cardinal Richelieu, and included in their number several Jesuit priests. The Massachusetts people, fearing that they might prove "ill neighbors," agreed, in 1632, "to finish the fort at Boston, to erect another at Nantasket, and to commence a plantation at Ipswich, to bar their entrance should they make a descent upon the coast." In the autumn of that year, La Tour, "governor to the east of the St. Croix," visited Machias, and there violently asserted his claim to the place. Shortly afterwards Mr. Allerton, of Plymouth, was sent to demand of La Tour some reason for his misconduct. "My authority," responded the Frenchman, "is from the King of France, who claims the coast from Cape Sable to Cape Cod; I wish the English to understand that if they trade to the eastward of Pemaquid, I shall seize them; my

¹ Barry, i. 302.

sword is all the commission I shall show; when I want help, I will produce my authority.”¹

In the next year, the commander of a pinnace, named Hocking, visited Kennebec, and insolently interfered with the trade, which the Plymouth people were there carrying on. In an encounter which ensued, Hocking killed one of the tradesmen, and was himself shot in return. One of the Plymouth magistrates, Mr. John Alden, who was a witness of this affair, was, at the instance of a kinsman of Hocking, arraigned on a charge of murder. The case was tried in Boston; and Mr. Alden, being found not guilty, was discharged.

Still another disturbance was created in the following year. D'Aulney, governor to the west of the St. Croix, sailing under a commission from Razilla, commandant of the fort at La Heve, made an attack upon the Plymouth trading-house at Penobscot, and rifled it of all its contents. An attempt was made to avenge this insult; but it was not brought to any result. The foregoing encroachments were some of the reasons why Mr. Winslow was sent to England as the agent of the colonies. Fortunately, at this point, troubles with the French ceased altogether, and neither party gave to the other any cause for apprehension.

Turning now to the colonies themselves, it is well to glance at their condition at this period of their history. When the Puritans came over to America, they, just like the Pilgrims, already knew that their future success and prosperity depended wholly upon hard and persistent labor. When they arrived, they at once set to work as an agricultural people, toiling for their daily bread, and not yet

¹ Winthrop, i. 117.

mindful of the wealth which might eventually crown their efforts. The misfortunes of the first winter, although severe, did not dishearten. With poverty staring them in the face, they learned those lessons of thrift, patience, and economy, which profited them through the remainder of their lives, and which their descendants have so advantageously cherished to this day.

It was not to be expected that the immigrants could arrive from England bounteously supplied with all the necessaries of life. On the other hand, they did not set out on their perilous adventure without providing themselves with the germs—so to speak—of their future opulence. Besides materials for building, they brought over with them articles of clothing for their families, tools and utensils for their husbandry, and a number of neat cattle, sheep, swine, and poultry. For several months they subsisted mainly on Indian corn, which they obtained from the natives, and such other wild products as the country afforded. As soon as the chill of winter departed, they began to break the land for their spring labors. Seeds were sown for their future harvests; the soil proved rich and fertile, the air was salubrious, the waters pure. Soon the young stalks of grain began to blossom in the fields. Fish was plentiful in the neighboring streams, and game of various kinds roamed freely in the forests. The prospect was encouraging, and all were seemingly blessed with good cheer and content. In this manner the early planters sought to unveil the fruitfulness of New England. Before the beginning of the year 1643, nearly fifteen thousand acres of land were being cultivated for grain purposes, and at least one thousand acres had been worked into gardens and orchards. The number of neat cattle had

increased to twelve thousand, and that of sheep to three thousand.

Prosperity showed itself in other respects. Many of the colonists who had "had not enough to bring them over," were now worth, in stock and lands, hundreds of pounds. Surplus products were exchanged for furs, and the latter were soon shipped to England. In this way was laid the foundation of a thriving commerce. Moreover, "new buildings, some even of brick, sprang up in every quarter of Boston; markets were erected; wharves stretched into the harbor; native and foreign vessels were sent to the West Indies and to the Madeira Islands, and returned laden with sugar, oranges, wine, cotton, tobacco, and bullion; and these, with the furs, and the products of the fisheries at the Cape and at the Banks, including morse teeth and oil, procured in trips farther to the north, were sent to England to pay for the manufactured goods needed for their wants."¹

As wool, flax, and hemp were everywhere becoming plentiful, the colonists now turned their attention to manufacturing. In the towns possessing good water privileges, mills were erected. Elsewhere, glass works were commenced, ship-yards opened, and at Lynn and Braintree, in the Massachusetts colony, and at Raynham, in Plymouth, iron founderies were established. Although much energy and zeal were displayed in these several investments, it was not until "the changes in England checked the flow of emigration from the Old World to the New, causing an immediate and remarkable reduction in the value of cattle, that manufactures assumed an increased importance, and were prosecuted with more vigor."²

¹ Barry, i. 309.

² Barry, i. 310. Winthrop, ii. 21, seq.

As many of the early settlers of the Massachusetts colony, and particularly the clergy, were men of a liberal education, and in some cases were graduates of English universities, it was not to be expected that they would permit the interests of education to be forgotten. It was always the custom, and it soon became a law, that "none of the brethren shall suffer so much barbarism in their families, as not to teach their children and apprentices so much learning as may enable them perfectly to read the English tongue." When the colonies had reached a sufficient degree of prosperity, it was ordered that, "to the end that learning may not be buried in the graves of our forefathers, every township, after the Lord hath increased them to the number of fifty householders, shall appoint one to teach all children to write and read; and where any town shall increase to the number of one hundred families, they shall set up a grammar school; the masters thereof being able to instruct youth so far as they may be fitted for the university."¹

Boston had been settled just six years, when, in the autumn of 1636, the General Court voted the sum of four hundred pounds—equal to a year's rate of the whole colony—towards the erection of "a school or college." One half of this amount was to be paid in the next year, and the balance when the work should be completed. On the 15th of November, 1637, the college was "ordered to be at Newtown;" and in the following spring it was further ordered that "Newtown shall henceforward be called Cambridge," in honor of the seat of the *alma mater* of many of the emigrants. Before this year ended, John Harvard, a minister settled at Charlestown, shortly

¹ Col. Laws, 74, 186.

before his death bequeathed to the institution one half of his estate and the whole of his library. In return for this benefaction, it was ordered that the "college agreed upon formerly to be built at Cambridge shall be called Harvard College."

Mr. Nathaniel Eaton was the first master of this "school," and had charge of its funds as well as of the buildings and pupils. Having demeaned himself in a "cruel and scandalous manner," and the parsimony of his wife having given rise to much complaint, Eaton was soon dismissed from his position, and his place supplied by another. "He was a mere Arbilius," says Hubbard, with righteous indignation, "fitter to have been an officer in the Inquisition, or master of an house of correction, than an instructor of Christian youth."¹ In 1638 was commenced the regular course of academic instruction; and in 1642 nine young gentlemen were graduated and received degrees. This was the first commencement in the history of Harvard College. The graduates "were young men of good hope, and performed their acts so as gave good proof of their proficiency in the tongues and arts," writes Governor John Winthrop.² The "theses" of the class have been preserved. In this same year a charter for the college was granted, and a board of overseers established. The "learned, reverend, and judicious Mr. Henry Dunster" now stood at the head of the seminary as its first president. For fourteen years he faithfully discharged the duties of his office, to the "great comfort" of his associates.

In a small tract, entitled "New England's First Fruits," written in Boston, in 1642, and published in London in the next year, occurs the earliest contemporary account of the

¹ Hist., 247.

² Hist., ii. 88.

founding of the college. It is extremely interesting as showing the spirit of the people in relation to the institution. It says,—

“After God had carried us safe to New England, and we had builded our houses, provided necessities for our livelihood, reared convenient places for God’s worship, and settled the civill government, one of the next things we longed for and looked after was to advance learning and perpetuate it to posterity; dreading to leave an illiterate ministry to the churches when our present ministers shall lie in the dust. And as we were thinking and consulting how to effect this great work, it pleased God to stir up the heart of one Mr. Harvard (a godly gentleman and a lover of learning, then living amongst us) to give the one half of his estate (it being in all about 1700*l.*) towards the erecting of a colledge and all his library. After him another gave 300*l.*; others after them cast in more, and the publike hand of the state added the rest. The colledge was by common consent appointed to be at Cambridge (a place very pleasant and accomodate), and is called (according to the name of its first founder) Harvard Colledge.” The early appearance of the college is thus quaintly described in the same work: “The edifice is very faire and comely within and without, having in it a spacious hall, where they daily meet at commons, lectures, and exercises, and a large library with some bookes to it, the gifts of diverse of our friends, their chambers and studies also fitted for and possessed by the students, and all other roomes of office necessary and convenient, with all needful offices thereto belonging.”

The infant institution soon became a great favorite. All of the colonies contributed offerings towards its support;

the state granted the use of a ferry; and magistrates and citizens were alike profuse in their liberality. In return, the college moulded the early character of the country. Indeed, its influence was such as to give cause of alarm to the commissioners of Charles II., who in their report wrote that, "It may be feared this college may afford as many scismaticks to the Church, and the Corporation as many rebels to the King, as formerly they have done if not timely prevented." The Marquis of Wellesley is accredited with having said to an American, many years later, "Establishing a seminary in New England at so early a period of time hastened your revolution half a century."

Nor were grammar schools unthought of at this period. As education was deemed to be an object of the highest importance, a law was passed compelling every town to support a district school within its limits. The school at Cambridge, under the charge of "Master Corlet," prepared students for the college. The schools at Watertown, Boston, Charlestown, Roxbury, Dorchester, those also in Plymouth and in Connecticut, each sent thither its quota. "In these measures," says an historian, "especially in the laws establishing common schools, lies the secret of the success and character of New England. Every child, as it was born into the world, was lifted from the earth by the genius of the country, and, in the statutes of the land, received, as its birthright, a pledge of the public care for its morals and its mind."¹

In 1639 the first printing press erected in New England was set up at Cambridge by Stephen Daye, at the charge of the Rev. Joseph Glover, who had brought over both pressmen and press from England. "The first thing

¹ Bancroft, U. S., i. 459.

printed," says Winthrop in his Journal, "was 'The Freeman's Oath;' the next an Almanac made for New England by Mr. Pierce, mariner; the next was the Psalms newly turned into metre." The press soon fell into the possession of Samuel Green, who followed the printer's trade in Cambridge for more than forty years. In 1649 he published the "Cambridge Platform," in 1660 the "Laws of the Colony," and in 1685 the "Psalter," Eliot's "Catechism," Baxter's "Call," and the Bible in the Indian language. These several publications are now very rarely met with.

In 1643, or thereabouts, the population of New England was not far from twenty-five thousand; that of Massachusetts was about eighteen thousand. Among the number of the latter there were not a few restless minds, of whom some were already projecting new settlements in the Bahamas. A plan of government was draughted, and a large number of families departed to the "new land." Ere long Spanish interference checked the progress of this dangerous scheme; the settlers were dispersed, and those who were so fortunate as to return to New England applied themselves to objects of more permanent value.

And now the plan which had been so much talked about around firesides and in the General Court — the confederacy of the colonies — was again held up for public consideration. There was not the slightest doubt but that such a union was necessary, as much for the interests of religion as for the common safety. On the 19th of May, 1643, the initiatory step was taken. On this day commissioners from four of the colonies met in Boston, and agreed upon terms of confederation.¹ The articles were then signed by the

¹ Bradford, 416.

commissioners from Massachusetts, Connecticut, and New Haven; but, inasmuch as the Plymouth delegates were not authorized to sign, the latter reported them to their General Court, which submitted them for ratification to the several towns. In this manner they were ratified by the people. On the 7th of September the measures had been confirmed; and thus was formed the confederation of "The United Colonies of New England," the prototype of the North American Confederacy of 1774. The four jurisdictions comprised a population of about twenty-four thousand, living in thirty-nine towns.¹

The preamble to the articles of confederation reads as follows: "We all came into these parts of America with one and the same end and aim, viz.: to advance the kingdom of our Lord Jesus Christ, and to enjoy the liberties of the gospel in purity with peace; and whereas by our settling, by the wise providence of God, we are further dispersed upon the sea-coast and rivers than was at first intended, so that we cannot, according to our desire, with convenience communicate in one government and jurisdiction; and whereas we live encompassed with people of several nations and strange languages, which hereafter may prove injurious to us or our posterity; and forasmuch as the natives have formerly committed sundry insolences and outrages upon several plantations of the English, and have of late combined themselves against us, and seeing by reason of the sad distractions in England (which they have heard of) and by which they know we are hindered both from that humble way of seeking advice and reaping those comfortable fruits of protection which at other times we might well expect; we therefore do conceive it our bounden duty, without delay, to enter

¹ Winthrop, ii. 119-127; Hubbard, 467, seq.

into a present consociation among ourselves, for mutual help and strength in all future concernment, that as in nation and religion, so in other respects, we be and continue one, according to the true tenor and meaning of the ensuing articles."

This explicit preamble is followed by twelve articles. The first fixes the name, "The United Colonies of New England." The second is a declaration of a perpetual league, with its purposes. The third asserts the right of jurisdiction of each colony within its own boundaries, and confines the confederacy to the four colonies forming it, until otherwise agreed. The fourth establishes the rule to be followed in the apportionment of colonial expenses in time of war. The fifth states the course to be pursued in case of any foreign invasion. The sixth gives to each colony the power to choose two commissioners, fully authorized to act in its behalf. The seventh provides for the election of a president of the board. The eighth provides for the establishing of "agreements and orders in general cases of a civil nature," and for the preservation of justice in general. The ninth forbids each colony engaging in war, without the consent of the rest. The tenth provides for calling extraordinary meetings. The eleventh provides for cases arising from a breach of the articles; and the twelfth ratifies and confirms the whole.¹

This league generally met with the expectations of its founders. Remarkable for unmixed simplicity, it was yet strong in its purpose, and was virtually an assumption of the sovereignty of the people. Its existence was as unpremeditated from early years as it was inevitable at the last. Majesty itself could not have prohibited it; nor was it

¹ Winthrop, ii. 119-127.

probably foreseen by the charter of Massachusetts. When the bond of union had been agreed upon, Thomas Hooker wrote to Governor Winthrop, in terms which disclose to us the elevated thought and exalted aims of the fathers of New England.

“Much honored in our blessed Savior! At the return of our magistrates, when I understood the gracious and desired success of their endeavor, and by the joint relation of them all, not only your Christian readiness, but enlarged faithfulness in an especial manner to promote so good a work,—my heart would not suffer me but as unfeignedly to acknowledge the Lord’s goodness, so affectionately to remember your candid and cordial carriage in a matter of so great consequence; laboring by your special prudence to settle a foundation of safety and prosperity in succeeding ages; a work which will be found not only for your comfort, but for your crown at the great day of your account. It’s the greatest good that can befall a man in this world to be an instrument under God to do a great deal of good. To be the repairer of the breach was of old counted matter of the highest praise and acceptance with God and man; much more to be a means, not only to maintain peace and truth in your days, but to leave both as a legacy to those that come after until the coming of the Son of Man in the clouds.”¹

¹ 4 M. H. Coll., vi. 390.

CHAPTER IV.

MASSACHUSETTS AND CHARLES II.

THE revolution in England, which dethroned and sent Charles I. to the scaffold, broke up the Court of High Commission, abolished the Star Chamber, and crushed the power of associate tyrants, exerted no small degree of influence on the fortunes of New England. When the news first reached these shores that a new Parliament had been formed, and there was some hope of a reform, some of the Puritans "began to think of returning back to England, and others, despairing of further help from thence, turned their minds wholly to a removal to the south." The Long Parliament, which met in London in 1641, contained among its members many favorers of the Puritan plantations, some of whom, says Winthrop, "wrote to us advice to solicit for us in the Parliament, giving us hope that we might obtain much. But consulting about it, we declined the motion for this consideration, that if we should put ourselves under the protection of the Parliament, we must then be subject to all such laws as they should make, or, at least, such as they might impose upon us."¹ The same sagacity was displayed by the settlers when they received letters, in the following year, inviting them to send deputies to the Westminster Assembly of divines.

¹ Winthrop, ii. 30.

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¹ Winthrop, ii. 30.

However, the colonists resolved to send Hugh Peters and two others to England, to "mediate ease in customs and excise;" and their mission proved successful. So pleasant continued the relations between Parliament and the colonies, that in 1643 the former freed their imports and exports from all taxation, "until the House of Commons should take order to the contrary." The General Court of Massachusetts, feeling grateful for the ordinance, "entered it word for word on their records, as a memorial to posterity." Meanwhile the events of the time gave rise to many political discussions. Abstract questions of government were freely debated; public meetings were frequent; and at every annual court one of the ministers was appointed to preach an "Election Sermon." In these discussions, wide differences of opinion were expressed, and there was manifested a growing jealousy, on the part of the people, of their highly aristocratical charter government. Although the appointment, by Parliament, of a governor general of America was not quite pleasing to Massachusetts, the people still acknowledged their allegiance to England; it was also ordered by the court, that "whosoever should endeavor to disturb the public peace, directly or indirectly, by drawing a party, under the pretence that he was for the King of England and such as joined with him against the Parliament, should be accounted an offender of a high nature against the commonwealth, to be proceeded with, either capitally or otherwise, according to the quality or degree of his offence."

In 1645 several difficulties arose within the colonies which called for the exercise of skilful diplomacy. Certain parties, hostile to the government of Massachusetts,

had returned to England bearing grievances and seeking a redress for the same. These disturbances, united to others of a religious nature, led to the appointment of a commission. Mr. Edward Winslow, of Plymouth, was sent to England to answer these charges, together with those of Gorton, should they be brought into Parliament. Mr. Winslow left Boston in December, 1646, and on arriving in England, he held interviews with Sir Henry Vane and the Earl of Warwick. These gentlemen referred the case to Parliament, and the result was a vindication of the colonists. The complaints of Gorton and of others against them fell flat. The loyalty of Massachusetts thus procured the protection of Parliament in that it encouraged no appeals from its decisions, and left it with all the freedom and latitude that it might claim.

Cromwell always manifested great love for the colonists, from whom, in return, he won the fullest confidence. After he had achieved his success in Ireland, he conceived the project of introducing Puritanism in that island, and invited the people of Massachusetts to remove thither. For just reasons the colonists declined the proposal, preferring their own land and government, "the happiest and wisest this day in the world." When this answer was returned to the lord protector, a petition was also sent, soliciting his intervention "to avert the sad consequences apprehended from the recall of the charter." "English history," says Bancroft, "must judge of Cromwell by his influence on the institutions of England; the American colonies remember the years of his power as the period when British sovereignty was for them free from rapacity, intolerance, and oppression. He may be called the benefactor of the English in America; for he left

them to enjoy unshackled the liberal benevolence of Providence, the freedom of industry, of commerce, of religion, and of government.”¹

During these years the Puritans and the Pilgrims worked harmoniously together to build up a mighty commonwealth. Small beginnings could not but lead to potent results. Said the General Court, in 1646, “Plantations are above the rank of an ordinary corporation; they have been esteemed other than towns, yea, than many cities. Colonies are the foundations of great commonwealths. It is the fruit of pride and folly to despise the day of small things.” On the other hand, relations with neighboring colonies were not altogether pleasant. In 1653, there was a rumor current that the Dutch governor at Manhattan was seeking to incite the Indians against the English; and when the rumor seemed to be confirmed, the people of Connecticut clamored loudly for war. The General Court of Massachusetts, having reviewed the evidence, declared that “no determination of the commissioners, though they should all agree, should bind them to join in an offensive war which should appear to be unjust.” This refusal to coincide with the views of the Connecticut people came very near resulting in a dissolution of the confederacy. Before passion thus weakened discretion, the tidings arrived that Cromwell had ordered three ships to be sent over to assist in the reduction of the Dutch.

In the month of June the court convened; and Major Robert Sedgewick and Captain John Leverett received permission to raise a force of five hundred volunteers. Just as the expedition was on the point of starting for Manhattan, the news came that a peace had been con-

¹ Bancroft, i. 446.

cluded between England and Holland. The plans of the colonists were, therefore, altered; and the military force was despatched to dislodge the French from the Penobscot and St. John's. This object was speedily accomplished. On the 20th of September a thanksgiving was celebrated throughout the colony, in gratitude for the peace with the Dutch, and the "hopeful establishment of government in England." In the following year an expedition was sent to Niantick for the purpose of quieting a conspiracy, which had originated with the Narragansett tribe. But as nothing serious resulted from it, the war was discontinued.

With regret we must now briefly allude to another display of the persecuting spirit which prevailed in Massachusetts at this time. As we have already observed, a national uncompromising church had been founded in the colony. The union of church and state was fast corrupting both. Base ambition was mingled with the former, while a false direction was given to the legislation of the latter. The Congregationalists of Massachusetts were led to the "indulgence of the passions which had disgraced their English persecutors, and Laud was justified by the men whom he had wronged."

In the summer of 1656 the first Quakers arrived in Massachusetts. Inasmuch as their doctrines were deemed "another assault of Satan upon God's poor people here," and as opening anew that "Dead Sea of heterodoxy, that vast and horrid sink such as makes the land to stink in the nostrils both of God and man," the new comers were all imprisoned and treated with great indignity. In the autumn they were banished, and the court ordered that a penalty of one hundred pounds should be imposed upon

the master of any ship bringing Quakers within the jurisdiction. If any Quakers should come hither, they were to be whipped, and then transported. Other laws, equally severe, were passed, prohibiting the harboring of the sect. So intense was the bigotry of the age, that the fathers declared that "heretical doctrine is not only a sin, but profession of a doctrine which is both all sin and a way of sin." Plymouth and Connecticut shared the prevailing sentiments of Massachusetts, while Rhode Island alone, under the wise guidance of Roger Williams, looked with favor on the "pernicious sect."

For a season persecution reigned unbridled. Large numbers of the Quakers, men, women, and children, mothers with infants lying on their breasts, children too young and innocent to excite other than feelings of compassion, were scourged, fined, imprisoned, and banished. A terrible tragedy was being enacted. Scenes of blood were frequent. "I would carry fire in one hand," said Mr. Wilson, "and fagots in the other, to burn all the Quakers in the world." And again, "Hang them," he cried, "or else —" and with a significant gesture he passed his hand across his throat. There was no excuse for such proceedings as these. What if the conduct of the Quakers had been provoking — what if their manners were oddly affected, their sense of delicacy debased, and all their acts were seemingly devoid of reason? Neither then nor now could any apology be offered for the shameless sins of their persecutors. "When," says George Fox, "did ever the true apostles and teachers whip, hang, brand with an hot iron, banish upon pain of death, and spoil the goods?"¹

¹ Fox, *Answer to New Laws*, 4.

Four of the Quakers—William Robinson, Marmaduke Stevenson, Mary Dyer, and Wenlock Christisson—were early made victims of the scaffold. Let us not dwell upon the inhumanity that marked these frightful scenes. “We desired their lives absent rather than their death present,” was the only excuse which the magistrates could offer. When Christisson was put on trial, he asked by what law the magistrates condemned him. “Our own,” was the cool reply. “Who empowered you to make that law?” was his next question; and being told that they were authorized by the patent, he inquired, “Can you make laws against those of England?” What else could they say, but “No”? “Then,” said he, fearlessly, “have you overstepped your bounds, and your hearts are as rotten towards the king as towards God.” When the sentence of death was pronounced, he exclaimed, “What do you gain by taking Quakers’ lives? For the last man you put to death here are five come in his room; and if ye have power to take my life, God can raise up ten in my stead.”¹

But at length the tidings of these fearful barbarities reached the shores of England. “There is a vein of blood opened in your dominions, which, if not stopped, will overcome all,” said Edward Burroughs to Charles II., who now sat upon the throne of his father. “Ah, I will stop that vein,” said the king, promptly. “Do it speedily,” continued the ally of Fox. “As speedily as ye will,” was the response; “call to the secretary, and I will do it presently.”

The secretary obeyed the summons; a mandamus was granted; and Samuel Shattuck, a worthy Quaker, was ordered to be the bearer of it to Massachusetts. In a

¹ Bishop, N. E. Judged, 336-340.

little while the news reached Boston that a ship-load of Quakers, "Shattuck, the devil, and all," were anchored in the harbor. On the following day, it being Monday, two personages, Shattuck, the king's deputy, and the captain of the vessel, repaired to the residence of Governor Endicott. Upon being admitted, the former was ordered to remove his hat; but "when the mandamus was placed in his hands, he took off his own hat and returned that of the messenger." A consultation was held, followed by this laconic reply: "We shall obey his majesty's command."

The persecution was now virtually ended. Terror had supplanted vengeance in the minds of the people, and the Quakers were allowed to proceed about their business. Fearing that some evil results might follow, Mr. Bradstreet and Mr. Norton were sent to England, as agents of the colony. The king received them favorably; and an attempt on the part of the Quakers to bring them to an account for the murder of their friends was finally compromised. From this hour the rigor of the colonial laws abated, and the principles of toleration began to surmount the evils of bigotry. Says a writer, "Let us not censure too harshly the conduct of men to whom we are so largely indebted for the blessings we enjoy. Candid minds will not be indisposed to cast over their errors the mantle of charity. We have no disposition to conceal those errors; neither would we magnify them to an undue extent. Future ages, perhaps, in considering the laws of the middle of the nineteenth century, will look back with wonder to our days, and may find it as difficult to conceive how we should have strayed so far from the spirit of the gospel as then understood, as we

find it difficult to conceive how our ancestors should have strayed so far from that spirit as we understand it. Let each age be judged by its own light, and let due credit be given for all that was good in the past.”¹

In May, 1660, Charles II. mounted the throne of his ancestors. The hand of death had fallen upon the protectorate, and Puritanism had declined in England, never to rise again. The new House of Commons had voted that “according to the ancient and fundamental laws of this kingdom, the government is, and ought to be, by King, Lords, and Commons,” and accordingly restored the old constitution. When Charles, a few days later, landed at Dover, and made his triumphal entry into Whitehall, he laughed with characteristic irony, and said, “It is my own fault that I had not come back sooner; for I find nobody who does not tell me he has always longed for my return.” The king was a brute incarnate; and as a key to the moral character of his reign, it need only be said that, the first night of his return to London was signalized by the seduction of a beautiful woman of nineteen, the wife of one of his subjects.

In December of this year, intelligence of the accession of a new king had reached Massachusetts; the General Court convened and prepared addresses to his majesty. In these addresses his favor towards the colonies was solicited, and their own allegiance to his sovereignty was declared. Instructions were forwarded to Mr. Leverett, their agent, to direct the proper transmission of the petitions. “If the king or Parliament,” said they, “should demand what these privileges are which we desire the continuance of, your answer may be, All those which are

¹ Barry, i. 372.

granted us by patent, and that we have hitherto enjoyed in church and commonwealth, without any other power imposed over us, or any other infringement of them which would be destructive to the ends of our coming hither. As also that no appeal may be permitted from hence in any case, civil or criminal, which would be such an intolerable and insupportable burden as this poor place, at this distance, is not able to undergo, but would render authority and government vain and ineffectual, and bring us into contempt with all sorts of people. And if you find the king and Parliament propitious to us, to use your utmost endeavors for the renewing that ordinance that freed us from customs, 10th March, 1642." ¹

In the following May a reply, signed by Mr. Secretary Morrice, together with a mandate for the arrest of Goffe and Whalley, the regicides who had escaped to Massachusetts, was received in Boston. The king's response contained a general expression of good will, which, however, did not quiet the apprehensions of the colonists. The air was filled with rumors, and something seemed to forebode an early collision with the crown. At a special session of the court held in June, "a declaration of natural and chartered rights" was approved and published. In this document the people affirmed their right "to choose their own governor, deputy governor, and representatives; to admit freemen on terms to be prescribed at their own pleasure; to set up all sorts of officers, superior and inferior, and point out their power and places; to exercise, by their annually elected magistrates and deputies, all power and authority, legislative, execu-

¹ Hutchinson, Coll., 330.

tive, and judicial; to defend themselves by force of arms against every aggression; and to reject as an infringement of their rights, any parliamentary or royal imposition, prejudicial to the country, and contrary to any just act of colonial legislation.”¹

More than a year elapsed from the restoration of Charles II. to his public recognition at Boston. While in Old England the people welcomed his return with riotous festivity, —

“The rich, the poor, the old, the young, agree
To celebrate a joyful jubilee;
And to the utmost all themselves employ
To make free demonstrations of their joy.
Some quaff full goblets of the richest wine,
And others make the blazing bonfires shine;
Whilst the devout their prayers to Heaven sent,
For blessings on the king and government,”² —

in New England even the drinking of his health was forbidden, and the event was celebrated only amid the coldest formalities.

Meanwhile the colonists not only declared, but openly assumed, their rights; and in consequence complaints were almost daily instituted by those who were hostile to the government. Political opinion was diversified; and while “a majority were for sustaining, with the charter, an independent government in undiminished force, a minority were willing to make some concessions.” In the midst of the discussions, John Norton, “a friend to moderate counsels,” and Simon Bradstreet were induced to go to England as agents of the colony. Having been instructed to convince the king of the loyalty of the people of Massachusetts, and to “engage to nothing prejudicial to their

¹ Hutchinson, *Hist.*, i. 196, seq.

² Wolcott, in 1 M. H. Coll., iv. 262.

present standing according to their patent, and to endeavor the establishment of the rights and privileges then enjoyed," the commissioners sailed from Boston on the 10th of February, 1662.

In England they were courteously received by King Charles, and from him obtained, in a letter dated June 28, a confirmation of their charter, and an amnesty for all past offences. At the same time the king rebuked them for the irregularities which had been complained of in the government; directed "a repeal of all laws derogatory to his authority; the taking of the oath of allegiance; the administration of justice in his name; a concession of the elective franchise to all freeholders of competent estate; and as 'the principle of the charter was the freedom of the liberty of conscience,' the allowance of that freedom to those who desired to use 'the booke of common prayer, and perform their devotion in the manner established in England.'"¹

These requisitions of the king proved anything but acceptable to the people of Massachusetts. With them the question of obedience became a question of freedom, and gave rise to the parties which continued to divide the colony until the establishment of actual independence. It was not thought best to comply immediately with his majesty's demands; on the other hand, no refusal to do so was promulgated. Always observant of the signs of the times, the government ceased not to strengthen itself for a continuance of their religious institutions and their democratic self-reliance.

Before long tidings reached England — they were false, of course — that the regicides Goffe and Whalley were

¹ Bancroft, ii. 75.

at the head of an army, and that the colonies were plotting for union and independence from the crown. Even the most influential friends of America, including Lord Say and Seal, failed to disperse these rumors. "New England men are of altogether another principle," said Lord Say and Seal. But the words proved ineffective. The intercessions of Sir Thomas Temple, who had resided several years in New England, and of John Winthrop, the governor of Connecticut, drew from Lord Clarendon, the king's minister, a significant reply. "I assure you" — such is Clarendon's message to Massachusetts — "of my true love and friendship to your country; neither in your privileges, charter, government, nor church discipline, shall you receive any prejudice." Scarcely had these words reached America when the rumor followed that royal commissioners were to be appointed to regulate the affairs of New England.¹

Precautionary measures were now taken. The patent and a duplicate of the same were delivered to a committee of four, with instructions to hold them in safe keeping. Captain Davenport, at Castle Fort, was ordered to give early announcement of the arrival of his majesty's ships. Officers and soldiers were forbidden to land from ships, except in small parties. Strict obedience to the laws was enjoined upon all the people; and finally, a day of fasting and prayer was appointed "to implore the mercy of God upon them under their many distractions and troubles."

On the 23d of July, 1664, "about five or six of the clock at night," the "Guinea," followed by three other ships of the line, arrived in Boston harbor. They were well

¹ 4 M. H. Coll., ii. 284.

manned and equipped for the reduction of the Dutch settlements on the Hudson, and brought commissioners hostile to colonial freedom, and who were charged by the king to determine "all complaints and appeals in all causes and matters, as well military as criminal and civil," and to "proceed in all things for the providing for and settling the peace and security of the country, according to their good and sound discretions." Colonel Richard Nichols, and Colonel George Cartwright were the chief members of the commission. At the earliest possible moment they produced their legal warrant, the king's letter of April 23, and requested the assistance of the colonies in the reduction of the Dutch. Shortly afterwards the fleet set out for New Netherlands.

On the 3d of August the General Court convened, and the state of affairs was discussed. It was resolved "to bear faith and true allegiance to his majesty, and adhere to their patent, so dearly obtained, and so long enjoyed by undoubted right in the sight of God and men." It was also agreed to raise a force of two hundred men, at colonial expense, to serve against the Dutch; and messengers were sent to inform the commissioners of these proceedings. In consequence of the capitulation of the Dutch, the troops were not mustered into active service. On the same day the king's letter of June 28 was debated upon.¹ Although its demands were thought to be unreasonable, it was agreed "to modify the old law, by providing that all English subjects, being freeholders, and of a competent estate, and certified by the ministers of the place to be orthodox in faith, and not vicious in their lives, should be made freemen, although not members of

¹ See page 88.

the church.”¹ Before the session closed, Massachusetts published an order forbidding the making of complaints to the commissioners, and prepared the following eloquent address to the king:—

“DREAD SOVEREIGN: The first undertakers of this plantation did obtain a patent, wherein is granted full and absolute power of governing all the people of this place, by men chosen from among themselves, and according to such laws as they should see meet to establish. A royal donation under the great seal is the greatest security that may be had in human affairs. Under the encouragement and security of the royal charter, this people did, at their own charges, transport themselves, their wives and families, over the ocean, purchase the land of the natives, and plant this colony, with great labor, hazards, cost, and difficulties; for a long time wrestling with the wants of a wilderness and the burdens of a new plantation; having also, now above thirty years, enjoyed the privilege of GOVERNMENT WITHIN THEMSELVES, as their undoubted right in the sight of God and man. To be governed by rulers of our own choosing, and lawes of our own, is the fundamental privilege of our patent.

“A commission under the great seal, wherein four persons (one of them our professed enemy) are empowered to receive and determine all complaints and appeals according to their discretion, subjects us to the arbitrary power of strangers, and will end in the subversion of our all. If these things go on, your subjects here will either be forced to seeke new dwellings, or sink under intolerable burdens. The vigor of all new endeavors will

¹ Barry, i. 392. Hutchinson, i. 212.

be enfeebled; the king himself will be a loser of the wonted benefit by customs, exported and imported from hence into England, and this hopeful plantation will in the issue be ruined.

“If the aime should be to gratify some particular gentlemen by livings and revenues here, that will also fail, for the poverty of the people. If all the charges of the whole government by the year were put together, and then doubled or trebled, it would not be counted for one of those gentlemen a considerable accommodation. To a coalition in this course the people will never come; and it will be hard to find another people that will stand under any considerable burden in this country, seeing it is not a country where men can subsist without hard labor and great frugality.

“God knows our greatest ambition is to live a quiet life, in a corner of the world. We came not into this wilderness to seek great things to ourselves; and if any come after us to seeke them heere, they will be disappointed. We keep ourselves within our line, a just dependence upon, and subjection to, your majestic, according to our charter, it is far from our hearts to disacknowledge. We would gladly do anything within our power to purchase the continuance of your favorable aspect. But it is a great unhappiness to have no testimony of our loyalty offered but this, to yield up our liberties, which are far dearer to us than our lives, and which we have willingly ventured our lives, and passed through many deaths to obtain.

“It was Job’s excellency, when he sat as king among his people, that he was a father to the poor. A poor people, destitute of outward favor, wealth, and power,

now cry unto their lord the king. May your majestie regard their cause, and maintain their right ; it will stand among the marks of lasting honor to after generations."

Such was the substance of an address full worthy of its origin. The spirit of the people corresponded with it ; and if any dared to pay court to the commissioners, they became objects of derision. In February, 1665, three of the commissioners returned to Boston. Their reception was far from being cordial, and they were not slow to detect that their presence in the colony had stirred up against themselves the hatred of the multitude. At Plymouth, whither they soon went, they found little to tempt their cupidity ; in Rhode Island and Connecticut they met with better success. Having in April returned to Massachusetts, they delivered five propositions to the deputy governor, — Mr. Endicott, the governor, having recently deceased. On the next day was held the annual election. It proceeded quietly, and Mr. Bellingham was chosen to succeed Mr. Endicott, and Mr. Willoughby was appointed deputy governor. On the days immediately following, the commissioners communicated all his majesty's instructions, and the propositions before mentioned were laid before the court. The discussion waxed with heated animation ; and the commissioners, finding themselves out-matched by the politicians of Massachusetts, asked, "Do you acknowledge his majesty's commission to be of full force to all the intents and purposes therein contained ?" They received no definite answer from the court.¹

The commissioners now resolved to take more decided ground, and on the 23d of May they ordered Joshua

¹ Hutchinson, i. 217, seq.

Scottow, a Boston merchant, to present himself at the house of Captain Breeden, to answer to the charges of Thomas Deane and others. When the trial opened, a herald from the governor appeared, sounded his trumpet, and, in the name of the king, formally forbade any abetting the commissioners. The latter were astonished; the magistrates were inexorable. "Since you will misconstrue our endeavors," exclaimed the commissioners in tones of rage, "we shall not lose more of our labor upon you." So saying, they departed to the north.

When King Charles heard of these proceedings, he changed the scene of negotiations from Massachusetts to England; and Bellingham and Hathorne were ordered, under penalty, not to fail in their appearance. On the 11th of September, the court convened for the purpose of considering the king's letter of April 10. The most eminent clergymen of the colony were present. "Let some regular way be propounded for the debate," said Bellingham. "The king's prerogative gives him power to command our appearance," said Bradstreet; "before God and men we are to obey."—"You may have a trial at law; when you come to England, you may insist upon it and claim it," interposed a royalist. "We must as well consider God's displeasure, as the king's," remarked Willoughby, "the interest of ourselves and of God's things, as his majesty's prerogative."—"Prerogative is as necessary as law," replied the artful royalist.—"Prerogative is not above law," retorted Hathorne. "We have already furnished our views in writing, so that the ablest persons among us could not declare our case more fully," concluded the court.¹

¹ Bancroft, ii. 88.

The defiance of Massachusetts was followed by no immediate danger. For a season the contest with the crown ceased. The king himself was too much engaged with his women to bestow his attention upon matters of state; and thus, while England was lamenting the want of a good government, the colonies, true to themselves, their country, and their God, flourished in purity and peace

CHAPTER V.

KING PHILIP'S WAR.

PRIOR to the year 1675, four powerful tribes of Indians held territory in New England. Of all the tribes, not one was more dreaded by the English than the Narragansetts, who peopled almost the entire region which forms the present state of Rhode Island, extending west to the Thames River in Connecticut, and northward to the territory of the Nipmucks. The land of the Nipmucks lay principally in Massachusetts, about half way between Boston and the Connecticut. Wachusett Mountain was the favorite seat of the sachems of this tribe. The Mohegans, who had separated from the Pequots before the destruction of the latter, occupied the territory lying between the Connecticut and the Thames. The Wampanoags appear to have exercised sway over the petty tribes of the interior as far west as the Nipmucks, while their own territory extended from Massachusetts Bay and Cape Cod through the disputed tracts north of the Narragansett country to the bay bearing the same name. Their influence was courted or dreaded by all the surrounding tribes; and had they been hostile to the Pilgrims, instead of friendly, there would have been small need, probably, to write the history of the latter. Besides these ruling tribes, there were many smaller ones, who were neither numerous nor powerful. These, for the most part,

led a desultory life, being in some cases dependent for their very existence upon the generosity of their neighbors.

It will be remembered that one avowed purpose of the Massachusetts colonists in forsaking their native land was "the propagating and advancing of the gospel of the kingdom of Christ in these remote parts of the world." To unlock the mysteries of savage life, and to attempt the conversion of the ignorant inhabitants of New England, became one of the earliest duties of the settlers. The Pilgrims had labored in this direction; and later, Roger Williams had likewise assumed the task. "Many solemn discourses," says he, "I have had with all sorts, from one end of the country to another. I know there is no small preparation in the hearts of multitudes of them. I know their many solemn confessions to myself, and one to another, of their lost, wandering condition. I know strong convictions upon the consciences of many of them, and their desires uttered that way. I know not with how little knowledge and grace of Christ the Lord may save, and therefore neither will despair nor report much."¹ In 1644 an order was passed in Massachusetts that the county courts should "take care that the Indians residing in the several shires should be civilized and instructed in the knowledge and worship of God."

The true Apostle to the Indians, however, was John Eliot, of Roxbury, who is usually called "the morning star of missionary enterprise," in America. In point of time, indeed, Mayhew, of Nantucket, preceded him in the field, and produced the first fruits of benevolent effort for the conversion of the wild tribes. Although the labors of the latter did not spread over a very wide

¹ 1 M. H. Coll., iii. 206.

region, they are none the less entitled to the commendation of the philanthropist. John Eliot was a man "justly famous in the church of God, not only as an eminent Christian and an excellent minister among the English, but also as a memorable evangelist among the Indians of New England;" and "All who contemplate," says one of his biographers, "his active services, his benevolent zeal, his prudence, his upright conduct, and his charity, are ready to declare his memory precious."

In October, 1646, on the elevated grounds east of Newton Corner, Mr. Eliot preached his first sermon. The spot was afterwards called "Nonantum," or "the place of rejoicing." Once begun, the good work was continued; and meetings were likewise held at Concord, Neponset, and at other towns in the colony. One of the first convictions of the evangelist was, that the civilization of the Indians was a prerequisite to their Christianization, and his earlier efforts were accordingly directed to this end, with no small success. In his intercourse with the tribes, he found them possessed of a vast amount of natural vigor, shrewdness, and deep penetration. Oftentimes his auditors would propound questions which it was not so easy to answer. Said one, "If a man should be enclosed in iron a foot thick, and then be cast into the fire, what would become of his soul? Could it escape, or not?" Another inquired, "Which was made first, the devil or man?" And still others, "Why did not God give all men good hearts, that they might be good?"—"Why did not God kill the devil, that made all men so bad, he having all power?" The after-life of the young was incomprehensible, and they asked, "Where do children go when they die, seeing they have not sinned?"

Finally, "Why does God punish in hell forever? Man doth not so, but after a time lets them out of prison again. And if they repent in hell, why will not God let them out again?" — "Seeing the body sinneth, why should the soul be punished?" And, "If all the world be burned up, where shall hell be?"

Through the exertions of Mr. Winslow, who was at this time in England as the agent of the colony, a Society for Propagating the Gospel in New England was formed in 1649. English clergymen "stirred up their congregations to contribute liberally to its funds; a correspondence was held with the commissioners of the United Colonies, who were employed as the agents of the company; and in a short time a sum yielding six hundred pounds per annum was raised, and the proceeds of the same were regularly forwarded for the purchase of clothing, the education of children, the publication of books, the maintenance of teachers, and such other expenses as were incident to the mission; and these funds were faithfully husbanded, and sacredly disbursed for the purposes intended."¹

Mr. Eliot continued unremitting in his labors. At his request the people of Dedham granted to the Indians a township of about six thousand acres, where the Praying Indians, so called, of the vicinity were gathered. This settlement afterwards received the name of Natick, or "the place of hills." In this town, founded in 1650, schools and churches were established, a form of government was adopted, and education and religion were zealously fostered. The Indians, who had settled here, devoted themselves largely to agricultural pursuits, and the women freely shared the labors of the men. "In the winter," says a writer, "they dis-

¹ Barry, i. 355. Hutchinson, i. 153-156.

posed of brooms, staves, baskets, and turkeys ; in the spring, cranberries, strawberries, and fish ; in the summer, whortleberries, grapes, and fish ; and several of them worked with the English in haytime and harvest.”¹

While thus engaged, Mr. Eliot undertook the task of translating the Bible into the dialect of the Indians. He also prepared a Grammar, Catechisms, a Primer, and other works of a religious character, all of which were printed by the Society for Propagating the Gospel. In 1661 was erected the “ Indian College,” at Cambridge, which was furnished with accommodations for twenty scholars. Three years later, two Indian churches were gathered in the colony, and fourteen Praying towns were settled. And thus the good work went on, until it met with a serious interruption in the war with Philip. Already many had begun “ to doubt the success of the enterprise, and some openly contemned it.” “ If the value of an enterprise,” says Barry, “ is to be measured by its success, the conversion of the Indians must be regarded as a failure. The race itself has dwindled away, leaving behind few tokens of its presence in the country ; and nearly all that remains to remind us of the genius and exertions of Eliot are the few scattered books which have descended to us from the past, as unintelligible as the inscriptions upon the obelisk of Luxor ; yet, like that, they are memorials of the labors of man, and impressive and instructive are the lessons they teach.”² From this pleasing picture of the honest efforts of our fathers, we must now turn to one of the saddest episodes in the history of New England. There is but small need of repeating the assertion, for the annals of this country have already proven its truth, that two peoples, essentially unlike, cannot long coexist

¹ Homer, in 1 M. H. Coll., v. 260.

² Hist., i. 360

without frequent collisions. In this light it may almost be said that at the very moment when the English gained a footing in America, the doom of the red race was sealed.

Philip of Mount Hope is one of the few Indian chiefs who are acknowledged by the white man to have been truly great. As the years lengthen out their span, so does his fame increase. A century and a half ago he was stigmatized by the historian and divine as a rebel, a murderer, a monster accursed of God and man. Fifty years later, the descendants of those who had quartered his lifeless remains, and sold his child into the burning slavery of the tropics, read the story of his misfortunes with sorrow, and found in it excuse for the evils he inflicted upon their fathers. Now, Philip is regarded as a hero and a patriot, to whom all our sympathies would be given, were it not that he waged war against our own ancestors.

After the death of Alexander, the son and the successor of Massasoit, Philip, his brother, became sachem of the Wampanoags. Like his predecessors, he established his residence at Mount Hope, where he conducted all his affairs, and made treaties with adjoining tribes in favor of the colonists. It is unnecessary to conceal the fact that, in his dealings with the English, justice was not always extended towards the aged chief. Whosoever possesses a human soul is not slow to awaken to a sense of danger. Philip and his warriors read their doom in the faces of the white men; and they were wise enough to endeavor to intercept it.

It was in 1670, or thereabouts, that the people of Massachusetts began to suspect that Philip of Mount Hope was preparing to break that friendship which, eight years before, he had pledged with the colonists at Plymouth. It was even rumored that he was about to begin hostilities, that meet-

ings of his tribe were being frequently held, and that all of his warriors were grinding their hatchets for a general conflict. Several wanton murders, which were committed about this time, seemed to confirm these rumors, and roused the English to speedy action. At an interview which took place shortly afterwards, for the adjustment of grievances, Philip scoffed the notion of war, and, as pledges of his fidelity, proffered the surrender of all his English arms to the government at Plymouth. A three years' peace followed this event; but it was only the transient calm which precedes the outbreak of a tempest.

In these years of quiet Philip matured all his plans; and in 1675 the war began, directly caused, it is said, by the murder of one Sassamon, of the Massachusetts tribe. It was Sassamon who first communicated Philip's hostile intentions to the governor of Plymouth, and thus, it is supposed, incurred the vengeance of the chief. In the spring of 1675 Sassamon suddenly disappeared, and a few days later his body was found under the ice in Assawomset Pond, near Middleborough. An Indian, friendly to the English, represented that he had himself beheld one of Philip's men commit the deed. At a meeting of the court in June, three Indians, instead of one, were arraigned for the murder; and being adjudged guilty, they were put to death. This affair was the signal for war, at the prospect of which the Plymouth people rejoiced, imagining that there would be little difficulty in driving the "Canaanites" from the land. It was not till Philip had convinced them that he was not the weak savage they supposed him to be, that they began to perceive how serious was the contest.

Hostilities commenced at once. On the 20th of June, 1675, a band of Indians fell upon the town of Swanzeey,

fired several houses, but shed no blood. Like wildfire the tidings of the attack spread through the colony. The roads were crowded with fugitives "wringing their hands and bewailing their losses." On the 24th, while the congregation were returning home from church, the Indians again surrounded the town. Whilst the flames rolled onward from house to house, nine of the inhabitants fell victims to the savages. Upon the bodies of six the Indians "exercised more than brutish barbarities, beheading, dismembering, and mangling them, and exposing them in the most inhuman manner." Four days later a Plymouth force under the command of Major James Cudworth arrived at Swanzev, where they were joined by companies from Massachusetts under the commands of Captain HENCHMAN and Captain PRENTICE. The house of Mr. Miles was chosen as the headquarters. It was situated near a bridge thrown across the inlet on which the town is built, and which affords an easy access from the Plymouth colony to Mount Hope.

On the 30th the whole army marched direct to Mount Hope for the purpose of dislodging Philip from his position. Great was their astonishment upon finding that the wigwams had all been deserted, and that the chief, with his canoes, arms, and provisions, had made good his escape. Many of the English now entertained the hope that the war was ended, while others indulged grateful reflections on the prowess which had so speedily delivered the country of its most formidable enemy. It was the opinion of Captain Benjamin Church that the war was not yet over.

Having returned from Mount Hope, the army paused a while in the swamp of Pocasset, and there divided, — the Plymouth forces crossing over into Rhode Island, and the Massachusetts troops returning to Swanzev. In July a

treaty was concluded with the Narragansetts, who delivered hostages as a pledge of their fidelity. Then followed the intelligence that the whereabouts of Philip had been discovered, and that a detachment of Plymouth troops, under the command of Church, had set out in pursuit. The whole army advanced to his assistance, and on the 19th an attack was opened in the swamp at Pocasset. This swamp was seven miles long, and so dense as to be almost impenetrable. Skirting it were one hundred wigwams, which had just been abandoned. As the soldiers entered, they were greeted by a heavy fire. Trees were mistaken for Indians, and orders were neglected or misunderstood. Until sunset the conflict endured, when Cudworth, deeming it useless to fight longer, ordered a retreat. If the army had pushed onward at least an hour longer, Philip "would have been compelled to surrender, and the war would have ended." As it was, Philip escaped safely from Pocasset, and announced his good fortune in an attack on Taunton.

On the 1st of August the contending parties met once more on Seekonk Plain. In an engagement which took place, the people of Rehoboth, headed by their pastor, fought nobly. Notwithstanding that the strength of the English was increased by the arrival of a party of Mohegans under Uncas, the main body of Philip's men eluded pursuit, and fled into the country of the Nipmucks. In the preceding month Captain Hutchinson had been despatched, by the authorities at Boston, for the purpose of treating with this tribe. On Sunday, the 1st of August, accompanied by Captain Wheeler, of Concord, and others, he arrived before Quaboag, now Brookfield. Finding no Indians, he marched on to Momimissit, five miles beyond, where the war-whoop gave him his first intimation of danger. Two hun-

dred Indians fired upon his troops from all directions. The swamp seemed on fire with the continuous discharges; the rocks echoed back the reports of musketry and the yells of the savages, while around the bewildered colonists balls ploughed up the ground and whistled like hail. Eight men fell dead at the first fire, and others, including Hutchinson, were mortally wounded. With the enemy swarming in the thicket, the English hurried towards Brookfield, and sought shelter in a large house situated upon a hill. For two days this building was besieged. Filling a cart with hemp, the Indians set the whole on fire, and pushed it towards the garrison; but the flames were extinguished by a shower of rain. Still sure of their prey, the savages taunted their prisoners, sung the death-song, and danced the scalp-dance. On the evening of the 4th, forty-one men, commanded by Major Willard, arrived at the scene. Without loss of time the battle was renewed; the savages retired with sudden yells of rage and mortification, and after completing the desolation of the town, they secreted themselves in the woods.

Meanwhile the Indians in the forests bordering upon the Connecticut River, whither Philip himself had been driven, were scanning with evil eyes the weak and scattered settlements in that region. On the 1st of September, Hadley was surprised whilst all the people were at church, and fired in several places. At a critical moment, a man, whom nobody had noticed before, venerable in his aspect, calm in his demeanor, and of noble daring, hurried to the front, and called upon the villagers to follow him. Roused from their wonder at his first appearance, the men renewed the fight, and pressed forward to charge the enemy. The Indians broke and fled; and in the hurry of pursuit the benefactor of Hadley departed, no one knew whither. Not until many

years had elapsed was it known that this brave commander was Colonel Goffe, the regicide. On the same day the Indians attacked Deerfield, and nearly destroyed the town; and three days later, Northfield experienced the same fate. In an engagement which took place at Deerfield on the 18th, the victory was with the far more numerous savages. There was scarcely a family in Essex which did not lose a member, and that member its pride and hope. Hardly a white man escaped. The murmuring brook which winds through the tranquil scene bears to this day a name which commemorates the most terrible disaster which New England had yet seen.

In proportion as the colonists were depressed, the Indians were encouraged. The Springfield Indians, who had hitherto remained faithful, now joined Philip, admitted three hundred of his warriors into their fort, and plotted the destruction of the town. On the 4th of October, the savages, having fallen upon the place, succeeded in burning upwards of sixty houses. By the arrival of Major Treat and others, they were repulsed and forced to seek shelter in the woods. Two weeks later the Indians suffered another defeat at Hatfield. Exasperated with rage, they exposed themselves with their customary imprudence, and their loss was heavy. This affair was of immense importance to the colonists. It encouraged them to face the foe boldly, and inspired confidence in their leaders. The Indians attempted no enterprise of importance throughout the remainder of the season; but deeming discretion their better part, they withdrew for the winter into the swamps.

Although the war had already been carried on through four months, there had not as yet been taken any measures for concerted action. Hitherto the English had proceeded main-


ly on the defensive. On the 9th of September, commissioners from the three principal colonies assembled at Boston, and "fully concurred in the righteousness of the present war with the barbarous natives," and ordered one thousand troops to be raised without delay. Of these troops Massachusetts furnished more than half. A commander-in-chief was appointed for each colony, and he was entitled to the supreme command over the united forces, whenever their field of operations lay within the colony by which he had been chosen. On the 2d of November, the commissioners reassembled. In the belief that the Narragansetts would join Philip in the spring, a winter campaign was proposed. A declaration of war was made, in which the Narragansetts were accused of being "deeply accessory in the present bloody outrages of the bloody natives." To this charge were added others — that they had killed the cattle of the colonists, and had, when news of the disaster at Hadley arrived, "in a very reproachful and blasphemous manner rejoiced thereat."

Early in December the Massachusetts troops under Major Appleton set out for the country of the Narragansetts. On the 12th they were joined by the Plymouth forces under Major Bradford; and crossing the Patuxet and marching onward, they rendezvoused at Mr. Smith's, in Warwick. A series of skirmishes was a prelude to the general attack. On the 18th, the Connecticut troops under Major Treat arrived and united with those of Massachusetts and Plymouth. The whole army was now together, and numbered nearly one thousand English and one hundred and fifty Mohegans. All night long the men remained in the open air, encouraged by the prospect of final success.

At daybreak the troops marched through the trackless snow for the Narragansett fort, and soon came "upon the

edge of the swamp, where their guide assured them they should find Indians enough before night." Scarcely had they arrived within range of the fort, when a terrible volley of musketry was fired upon them. A desperate struggle ensued. The soldiers, maddened at the sight of their dead and dying companions, breasted the bristling rows of muskets, and pushed each other up the enclosure, while the Indians poured from the house, the hedge, the palisade, an uninterrupted stream of death. Discipline prevailed; the savages were driven from their flank position, and the colonists at length secured to themselves a place of shelter in the lower part of the enclosure. On a sudden the wigwams were all ablaze, and the flames soon enveloped the wide space in a sea of fire. Abandoning all hope, terrified by the whistling of shot and the shouts of command, the warriors shrunk closer towards each other, and springing upon the enemy's pieces like wild beasts, fought hand to hand in the madness of revenge. The din of battle was mingled with the screams of women and children roasting in the flames. Some flung their arms to heaven and cried for mercy; but their prayers were unanswered. Where the conflict raged, quarter was neither asked nor given. When night at length put an end to the slaughter, the shattered remnant of the Narragansett warriors retired into a neighboring swamp, and the troops returned to headquarters. In this encounter three hundred Indian warriors were killed, and seven hundred were wounded. The loss of the English was eighty killed, including some of their ablest officers, and one hundred and fifty wounded.

The power of the tribe was broken; but Canonchet, their sachem, did not droop under the disaster. "We will fight to the last man," said he, "rather than become servants to the English;" and he remained true to his word. From



this time onward the war was characterized by the most frightful barbarities, and the weapons of cruelty were seldom at rest.

The English retreated from the Narragansett country, and reached their camp unmolested by the enemy. Numbers perished by the way; those of the wounded who survived were frozen stiff as the dead. On examination, four hundred were found to be unfit for duty. In this condition, and destitute of provisions, they awaited with gloomy forebodings the arrival of the supplies which had been forwarded. Starvation stared them in the face. Although exhausted by the campaign, the troops were neither disheartened nor disposed to remain idle. At the beginning of the new year, Philip and his Indians withdrew into the country of the Nipmucks. His route was marked by devastation and cruelty. The army, re-enforced by three hundred fresh troops, pursued them as far as Marlborough, whence, being in want of provisions, they returned to Boston. Taking advantage of their departure, the Narragansetts, the Nipmucks, the Quaboag and River Indians, and the remnant of Philip's tribe, effected a juncture. Thus combined, they fell, on the 10th of February, 1676, upon the town of Lancaster. Houses were fired in every locality, and the Indians captured or killed all who attempted to escape. Forty-two of the inhabitants, of every age and both sexes, sought refuge in the house of Mr. Rowlandson, their pastor. This house stood upon the edge of the hill on which the greater part of the present town is built. From their secure position the savages poured a shower of musketry upon the house. Several of the men within had already been wounded, but those who still survived fought on steadily for more than an hour. At length the building caught fire, and the flames were soon crackling

and tossing over the heads of the devoted garrison. Every avenue of escape was closed. No help appeared in any quarter; and the alternative alone remained of dying in the blaze or of surrendering to a merciless foe.

"Some in our house," says Mrs. Rowlandson, "were fighting for their lives, while others were wallowing in their blood, the house being on fire over our heads, and the bloody savages were standing ready to bury the tomahawk in our heads if we stirred out. Now we could hear mothers and children crying out, 'Lord, what shall we do?' I took my children, and one of my sisters hers, to go out and leave the house; but as soon as we made our appearance at the door, the Indians fired so fast that the bullets rattled against the house as if one had taken a handful of stones and thrown them, so that we were forced to give back." The garrison now fled from the burning mass only to fall victims to a bloody thirst. Mrs. Rowlandson was shot in the side, and two of her children were put to death. "My eldest sister," she continues in her sad narrative, "being yet in the house, seeing Indians hauling mothers one way and children another, and some wallowing in their blood, and being told that her son William was dead, and that I was wounded, she exclaimed, 'Lord, let me die with them.' No sooner had she said this, than she was struck with a bullet, and fell down dead over the threshold. The Indians now laid hold on us, pulling me one way and the children another, saying, 'Come, go along with us.' I told them that they would kill me. They said that if I was willing to go along with them, they would not hurt me." For the sake of truth it ought to be said that the Indians treated their prisoners kindly. Among the latter was Mrs. Rowlandson, who was afterwards exchanged, and wrote an interesting account of her captivity.

On the 21st of February a party of Indians attacked the town of Medfield, destroyed nearly half of the houses, and murdered about twenty of the inhabitants. Weymouth likewise suffered on the 24th; and on March 2, Groton was almost wholly destroyed. The theatre of war was now transferred to the western frontier, and at Northampton the Indians suffered a signal defeat. Almost at the same time, depredations were renewed in the Plymouth colony, and a violent assault was made upon Plymouth itself. On the 26th of March, Captain Pierce, of Scituate, with a force of about seventy men, arrived at a crossing-place on the Pawtucket River, not far from the falls. Adjacent to this spot was a pass since known as Attleboro' Gore. Shortly "a small number of the enemy was seen, who in desperate subtlety ran away from them, and they went limping to make the English believe they were lame."¹ The stratagem succeeded. Pierce gave pursuit, and when too late saw that he had fallen into a fatal snare. Placed between two fires, the colonists were mowed down with fearful rapidity. Hope was succeeded by disappointment, and then by despair; for it soon appeared that the heroic defence of Pierce and his men served only to defer for a few hours the period of slaughter. The action drew to a close; one hundred of the enemy had fallen; not one of the Plymouth troops escaped. The destruction of Pierce and his gallant force was the greatest calamity which befell the Plymouth colony during the war. The burning of Seekonk and of Providence speedily followed, and once more the Indians were masters of the situation.

The government, counting so many reverses, scarcely knew what to do. A council of war was convened, and orders

¹ Mather, 25. Baylies, ii.

were given for the raising of fresh troops. Meanwhile those already in the field remained active. On the 21st of April, "one of the most memorable fights in the annals of the Massachusetts colony" was commenced in an attack on Sudbury. The Indians numbered fifteen hundred warriors, while the force of the English was comparatively small. The fight was severe, and ended in a complete victory for the former. The brave Captain Wadsworth, of Milton, here found his death; most of his men were either killed or taken prisoners, and only a very few of their companions escaped to tell the tale. Although the Indians withdrew without much injury from the struggle, they were soon reduced to great suffering. Starvation threatened them on all sides, and engendered diseases made fearful ravages among them. This miserable condition saved many a town from attack, and contributed in no small degree to the ultimate ruin of Philip. Many also of the allied tribes began to devise measures to effect separate treaties with the colonists, with the hope that by so doing they would receive that mercy which was denied by the colonial governments to prisoners taken in arms. Numbers deserted Philip, and retired to the north, while those who passed over to the English sought by every means to induce others to follow their example, hoping thereby to save their own lives. Hence Philip's cause, at the time when it might have been most flourishing, was falling to pieces, and success, so long wavering between the parties, inclined towards the colonists.

On the 18th of May one hundred and fifty men, raised in the towns of Hadley, Hatfield, and Northampton, under the command of Captains Turner and Holyoke, marched to the upper falls of the Connecticut, where the Indians were encamped. Upon arriving, they dismounted in silence, fastened their horses, and proceeded cautiously. The savages were

sunk in deep slumber ; no scouts were abroad ; no watch had been set. The assailants took deliberate aim. The survivors sprang to their feet, and in the dim twilight friend could not be distinguished from foe. " The Mohawk ! the Mohawk ! " was the dreaded name echoed from every mouth ; some sprang into the river and were drowned ; others leaped into their canoes and were carried over the falls ; and all who fled were pursued, and immediately cut down. Victory had declared for the English, and " a great and notable slaughter was made amongst " the enemy. On the return march the former were attacked by a large body under the command of Philip himself, and suffered a loss of thirty-eight of their number, among whom was Captain Turner, " whose name is perpetuated in that of the beautiful falls near which his corpse was afterwards found."

At length the distress of the Indians and the misery of their condition became known in the colonial councils, and the occasion was seized by these bodies to invite the enemy to accept of peace. In July vast numbers of the latter came in and surrendered. Others chose to remain in the destitute condition in which they were placed, and roamed through the woods in small parties, searching for berries, and digging up the earth for roots and ground-nuts. Often they wandered two or three days without tasting food. Loathsome animals — toads, frogs, tortoises, and foxes — were relished as a feast ; and when even these could not be obtained, they peeled the soft inner bark from trees, and chewed it with greediness. Sometimes the mother fell down in the thick woods with her babe and expired, while the famished crew whom she had followed continued their wanderings onward, expecting soon to share her fate.

Rallying a few chosen men around him, Philip fled to

Mount Hope. "It seemed as though his evil destiny had overtaken him, and that the day of his destruction was at hand, and that in future he was to be hunted through the woods like a wild beast, by open enemies and treacherous friends." Mournfully he reflected on his losses, and, as a bird startled and driven from her nest and flying about bewildered, he sighed for that safety he knew not where to find. Soon the entire force of the colonies had gathered upon his track, and surrounded his place of refuge. During the pursuit, the sachem's wife and child fell into the hands of the English. By Captain Church they were sent to Bridgewater, and thence to Plymouth. "My heart breaks," murmured Philip, after learning of this misfortune. The Indians were now totally disheartened; nor can we wonder that it was so. Whither should they flee? And yet flee they must, or be taken by their foes. Dark indeed was the prospect before Philip and the few who still adhered to his fortunes.

Meanwhile Church, worn out with fatigue and constant exposure to the weather, returned to Plymouth. It was his desire to abandon military operations; but this the government would not permit him to do. In obedience to their exhortation, Church prepared for another expedition. As usual, he raised his own forces, volunteers joined him in considerable numbers, and he again marched, with the hope of capturing Philip, to Pocasset. The swamp in which Philip was concealed "was a fit retreat for a despairing man, being one of those waste and dismal places to which few ever wandered, covered with rank and dense vegetation. The place was well suited to awake all the terrors of the imagination; to any eye but that of the savage, it was like the 'valley of the shadow of death;' the cypress and oak trees hung heavy

and still over the accursed soil ; the faint gleam of the pools and sluggish lakes on every side, in the starlight, and the howl of the wolf, fitfully, as if it warned that the hour was nigh." ¹ On the 12th of August, Church arranged his men so that it was scarcely possible for Philip to escape. At this moment a single shot was heard in the distance, and a ball whistled through the air over their heads. Church supposed that it had been fired by accident ; but before he could speak an entire volley was discharged. The battle had begun. Philip, unexpectedly aroused, throwing his belt and powder-horn over his head, seized his gun and fled. Unaware of the ambush, he ran directly towards two of Church's men. When he was quite near, the colonist levelled his gun, but it missed fire. He bade the Indian fire, which he did with effect. Philip of Mount Hope, the bravest of braves, and the most merciless of foes, fell pierced to the heart. Captain Church, forgetting that the honor of the conqueror is measured by that allotted to his foe, exclaimed that, " forasmuch as he had caused many an Englishman's body to be unburied, and to rot above ground, not one of his bones should be buried." The head was cut off and the body quartered. ²

" Such was the fate of Philip, which was immediately followed by a termination of the war in every quarter except the eastern frontier. It was a war of extermination between his followers and the whites : happy if the kindred tribes had learned wisdom from the fatal lesson. Thus fell King Philip ! Yes ! the savage fought a relentless war ; but he fought for his native land, for the mound that covered the bones of his parents ; he fought for his squaw and pappoose ; — no, I will not defraud them of the sacred names which our hearts

¹ *Carne, Life of Eliot.*

² *Authorities, Hubbard, Church, Drake, Baylies, &c.*

understand ;—he fought for his wife and children. He would have been, not a savage,—he would have been a thing for which language has no name,—for which neither human nor brute existence has a parallel,—if he had not fought for them.”¹ “The death of Philip in retrospect,” says Holmes, “makes different impressions from what were made at the time of the event. It was then considered as the extinction of an insolent and implacable enemy ; it is now viewed as the fall of a great warrior, a penetrating statesman, and a mighty prince. It then excited universal joy and congratulation, as a prelude to the close of a merciless war ; it now awakens sober reflections on the instability of empire, the peculiar destiny of the aboriginal race, and the inscrutable decrees of Heaven. The patriotism of the man was then overlooked in the cruelty of the savage, and little allowance was made for the natural jealousy of the sovereign on account of the barbarities of the warrior. Philip, in the progress of the English settlements, foresaw the loss of his territory, and the extinction of his tribe, and made one mighty effort to prevent those calamities.”²

The war was ended ; and there was scarcely a family in all the colonies that was not arrayed in mourning. Six hundred of the English had fallen upon the battle-field ; twelve or thirteen towns had been destroyed ; and the whole expense, including losses and disbursements, exceeded half a million of dollars. No Indian war which has occurred within the limits of the United States was ever attended with such disastrous results as this of King Philip. The advance of New England was retarded by it fifty years ; but its evil effects were, in process of time, entirely obliterated.

¹ Everett, Oration on Lathrop.

² Holmes, *Annals*.

CHAPTER VI.

THE DOWNFALL OF THE CHARTER.

SINCE the accession of Charles II., England had chafed under the independent attitude of the colonies. The commission of 1664 had signally failed of its object, and all attempts to reduce the colonies to servile obedience had likewise been foiled. But not yet was the English court willing to relinquish the effort to subdue the spirit of a people whose very perverseness stung its pride. Accordingly, in 1672, it voted to send new agents to America, who should "from time to time report how that people stood affected." These agents never came over, however; and as an offset to the apparent lack of courage on the part of the court, the Council for Plantations resolved itself into a Council for Trade and Foreign Plantations, and delayed further proceedings.¹

From the very first, Massachusetts had shown herself the most defiant of all the colonies, and in the face of opposition had found prosperity. Her commerce was reaching out its arms in every direction, and wealth was pouring into her treasuries; while New Hampshire and Maine, and even a part of the province of Acadia, were included within her jurisdiction. But a dark hour in her history was rapidly approaching.

While England viewed with jealous eyes the widely ex-

¹ Evelyn, *Diary*, i. 434-459.

tended traffic of the colony, fearing that the latter "would not only ruin the trade of this kingdom, but would leave no sort of dependence from that country to this," Gorges and Mason again offered to dispose of all their claims to the crown; but the monarch was too poor to purchase them. The General Court of Massachusetts, although it had in its employ no standing agent in England, managed to gain a knowledge of this and other proceedings dangerous to its future welfare, and at once adopted measures of defence. The king, resolved upon "reassuming the government of Massachusetts," sent the insolent Edward Randolph to New England. He arrived at Boston in the early summer of 1676, and at once waited upon Governor Leverett. He had come with full powers to carry out the will of his sovereign—a duty scarcely possible to be performed at such a time. Without paying much attention either to his credentials or his proposals, the governor regarded him "as Mr. Mason's agent," and bade him withdraw.¹ The governor also gave him to understand that "the laws of England were binding no further than consisted with their interests; that by the charter, full legislative powers were conferred upon the company; that all matters in dispute were to be concluded by their determination, without any appeal; and that his majesty ought not to retrench their liberties, which he had agreed to confirm, but leave them to enjoy, or even to enlarge the same, inasmuch as upon their own charge, and without any contribution from the crown, they had 'made so large a plantation in the wilderness.'"² Randolph returned to England one year later, execrated by all whom he left behind.

In this same year, William Stoughton and Peter Bulkley

¹ Hutchinson, Coll., 505.

² Barry, i. 456.

sailed for England, for the purpose of "making answer to the complaints of Gorges and Mason," and of negotiating that "affair with safety to the country." Hearings were granted to them shortly after their arrival, which resulted, however, only in the defeat of their mission. The claims of Massachusetts to the right of jurisdiction over Maine and New Hampshire were rejected; and "the former province was confirmed to Gorges and his heirs," while for the government of the latter province the crown issued a special commission. At this point John Usher, a merchant of Boston, purchased the whole right and interest of Gorges' heirs, and assigned it over to the governor and company. Massachusetts rejoiced in such a victory, and the king became sorely enraged. So the end was not yet.

Pending these proceedings, the court had determined to send over a royal governor, "wholly supported by his majesty," and also a collector for the port of Boston. Randolph was chosen to fill the latter office, and again arrived in Boston in December, 1678, where he was welcomed "more like a spy than one of his majesty's servants," and was soon made by everybody the object of abuse.¹ The agents of the colony did not reach home until the following year, bearing letters from the king. According to these letters, the king demanded that new agents should visit England within six months, "to attend to such business as remained unsettled;" that freedom of conscience should be allowed to members of the church of England; that all freemen were to be eligible to office; that military commissions and proceedings of justice should run in his majesty's name; and that an assignment of the purchase of Gorges' claim should be made to the king, on repayment of the

¹ 1 *Mass. H. Coll.*, vi. 92-94. Chalmers, *Annals*, 408.

purchase-money. Such were only a few of the royal demands.¹

The magistrates prepared and sent over a reply to these demands, to which the king returned answer, ordering them "seriously to reflect upon his directions, and to send over, within three months, such persons as they saw fit to choose, furnished with sufficient instructions to attend the regulation and settlement of their government, and to answer the claims which Robert Mason had set up to the lands between the Naumkeag and Merrimack Rivers."² Although they were appointed, no agents were sent over. Randolph having returned to England, "soured by disappointment," and accused, before the king, the "Bostoneers" as "usurpers, forming themselves into a commonwealth, denying appeals to England, neglecting the oath of allegiance, protecting regicides," et cetera, came back to Boston, in the winter of 1681, bearing a letter from the king, dated October 21, which concludes in the following words: "We once more charge and require you forthwith to send over your agents fully empowered and instructed to attend the regulation of that our government, and to answer the irregularity of your proceedings therein; in default whereof we are fully resolved, in Trinity term next ensuing, to direct our attorney-general to bring a *quo warranto* in our Court of King's Bench, whereby our charter granted unto you, with all the powers thereof, may be legally evicted and made void."³

It was deemed best to give immediate attention to this kingly summons, inasmuch as the strength of the royalist party in Boston was constantly increasing. William Stoughton and Joseph Dudley were appointed as new agents to be sent to England. The former refused to go, however, and

¹ Barry, i. 464.

² Hutch. Coll., 523.

³ Chalmers, Annals, 443-449.

John Richards was chosen in his stead. The agents departed, pledged "not to do or consent to anything that should violate or infringe the liberties and privileges" granted by the charter. In order to make affairs as unpleasant as possible, the busy, vigorous, and unscrupulous Randolph followed them to England. He was earnest in his demand for a *quo warranto*, and faithless to the objects he had promised to cherish.

Of course, when the agents arrived, they found his majesty in a perturbed state of mind. Their reception was anything but hearty, and when a hearing was granted to them it was only to be told that their powers were wholly inadequate. It at once became evident that a *quo warranto* would speedily follow, and that Massachusetts, already humbled, was soon to witness the downfall of its charter. The people of the colony, upon receipt of this intelligence, were much aggrieved. A war against the charter implied a war against the community. "The farmers in the country talked of it at their hearth-sides; the people of Boston pondered it in their warehouses, discussed it upon the exchange and in the halls of legislation. It went with them to the church, and was the burden of their prayers. The clergy were aroused, and their opinions and arguments, on the one side and the other, were given in writing or uttered in public; and as they had ever been loyal to the colony, so now for the last time they declared themselves irrevocably in favor of adhering to the charter."¹

When Randolph, who had been summoned "to prosecute a *quo warranto*," arrived in England, in May, 1683, he brought before the Council for Plantations "articles of high crimes and misdemeanors" against the Massachusetts colony, together with such "articles, witnesses, and proofs" as he

¹ Barry, I. 473.

was able to produce. On the other hand, the agents, unwilling to undertake the defence, returned to Massachusetts. Three days after their arrival, on the 26th of October, Randolph reached Boston, bearing the *quo warranto*. If, said the colonists, liberty was to receive its death-blow, better that it should die by the violence and injustice of others than by their own weakness. The governor and his assistants were fully persuaded of the hopelessness of further resistance, and therefore resolved to remind the king of his former promises, and "not to contend with his majesty in a court of law." They promised to send agents "empowered to receive his majesty's commands."

The resolution of the governor and his assistants having been submitted to the deputies for concurrence, the latter, after a debate of two weeks' duration, placed their decision on record: "The deputies consent not, but adhere to their former bills." The people of Boston sustained the deputies. Said Increase Mather, at a town meeting, "I verily believe we shall sin against the God of heaven if we vote an affirmative to it. . . . The loyal citizens of London would not surrender their charter, lest their posterity should curse them for it. And shall we, then, do such a thing? I hope there is not one freeman in Boston that can be guilty of it." Addresses, urging forbearance, were forwarded to the king, but to no purpose. On the 16th of April, 1684, a *scire facias* was issued in England. Before the colony could act upon it, the charter was conditionally adjudged to be forfeited. The judgment was confirmed on the first day of the Michaelmas term, and in the summer of 1685 a copy of it was received in Boston.

Thus tyranny triumphed over weakness, and the charter which Winthrop had brought to America, and on which had

rested the cherished fabric of New England liberties, fell to the ground. At nearly the same time died Charles II., whose only feeling for his fellow-men was that of an amused contempt.

The accession of James II., in February, 1685, was signalized by his pledge to preserve the laws inviolate, and to protect the church. The whole country welcomed the promise with enthusiasm; but the New England colonists foresaw in it only a despotism that had marked them for its victims.

While the General Court was in session, in May, 1686, the commission of Joseph Dudley as president of the colony was presented and read. The assembly at once adjourned, and "the deputies returned in sadness to their homes." On the 25th, the new president and council met, when the former proceeded to say, "The necessary alterations in the rule and form of his majesty's government, from the method late used by the government while it stood by the charter, as they need be but a few, so we assure you shall with all care and prudence be continued as plain and as easy as is possible, and we shall hasten humbly to lay them at his most gracious majesty's feet, for his allowance and confirmation."¹ Meanwhile Randolph served his writs of *quo warranto* against Rhode Island and Connecticut.

It became evident before long that Dudley and Randolph were not on the best of terms; and owing to their dislike of the so-called "evil genius of New England," the people naturally took sides with Dudley. Each impugned the other in the most villanous terms; and while outsiders were watching the controversy, Sir Edmund Andros, "with companies of soldiers brought from Europe to support what was to be imposed" upon the colony, landed at Boston, and pro-

¹ Barry, i. 480.

claimed himself "captain general and governor-in-chief" of New England. On the day of his arrival, December 20, 1686, Andros "repaired forthwith to the town-house, attended thither by a great number of merchants and others, with all the militia of horse and foot," and there made a "short speech." The council met on the following day, and it was ordered that "all members of the late government should be summoned to meet at Boston, on Thursday, the 30th instant." A demand was also sent for the surrender of the charters of Rhode Island and Connecticut. On the day appointed, the new government was wholly organized, and a proclamation issued that "all officers, both civil and military, should be continued in their places of trust, and that the laws not repugnant to the laws of England should be, and observed during his excellency's pleasure."¹ A series of measures followed of the most vexatious character. Preferments were lavished upon strangers; an arbitrary government was established; while "the wicked walked on every side, and the vilest men were exalted." A tax of twenty pence on each poll was levied, and also one penny in the pound upon "all the late colonies and provinces, towards defraying the public charges of the government." A refusal to comply with such demands was the beginning of trouble, of which countless fines and imprisonments were the result. Furthermore, the power of the press was bridled; a restraint was placed upon marriages; every encouragement was given to the establishment of Episcopal churches, and a tax levied for the support of the same. Excise laws were also passed and enforced; no one was allowed to leave the country without permission; and, indeed, the schools of learning were suffered to go to decay. Oppression threatened the

¹ Council Records, 105-107. 2 M. H. Coll., viii. 181, 182.

country with ruin ; and the oppressors, quoting an opinion current among the mercantile monopolists of England, answered without disguise, " It is not for his majesty's interest you should thrive." Before the close of 1688, the whole seaboard, from Maryland to the St. Croix, was united into one despotism, of which Boston was the capital.

The clergy openly condemned the tyranny of their rulers, and, while preaching rebellion, enkindled as with a flame the minds of the people. Before the bursting of the storm, Mr. Increase Mather, who had so valiantly fought for the charter, was sent to England " to excite the clemency of the king." Upon arriving he found that the heart of the monarch was itself steeped in despotism, and not at all inclined to favor liberty in the colonies. But relief came at length, from a revolution whose influence was to pervade the European world.

The reign of the Stuarts had suddenly come to an end, and a new race of sovereigns sat upon the English throne. All who were in favor of toleration saw in William of Orange "one in whom they confided for the redress of their spiritual grievances ; and the liberal nobility saw in him one to redress their civil wrongs." On that eventful day, "humanity rejoiced at the redemption of English liberties ; she reproved the unnatural conduct of daughters who drove their father into poverty and exile ; she sighed for the Roman Catholics who were oppressed, for the dissenters who were but tolerated ; and as on the evening of the long struggle which had been bequeathed by Rogers and Hooper, and had lasted more than a century and a half, she selected a resting-place, it was but to gather strength, with the fixed purpose of renewing her journey on the dawn of morning." ¹

¹ Bancroft, ii. 445.

On the 4th day of April, 1689, the news of the invasion of England reached Boston. The messenger, Mr. John Winslow, was immediately imprisoned; but his message could not be suppressed. The fire which had been smouldering, burst into a blaze. On the morning of the 18th an alarm was sounded. George, commander of the *Rose* frigate, was made prisoner by Green and the Boston ship-carpenters. There was a patriotic mob in the streets, which all the king's hirelings could not quell. The companies of militia rallied at the town-house; and before noon many of the leaders of oppression were in chains. On a sudden old Simon Bradstreet, the last governor of the colony under the charter, drew near the town-house. Peal upon peal burst upon the surrounding air. The old magistrates were reinstated as a council of safety; and a declaration was read defending the insurrection as a duty to God and the country.

And then the cry arose against Andros and Randolph; and while the colonial colors floated on Beacon Hill, a squad was sent to the fort to demand its surrender. Sir Edmund refused. About four o'clock the governor was seen attempting to escape to the frigate; but the movements of the companies were too quick for him. Before another hour was up, Andros, through the very streets where he had first displayed his scarlet coat and his arbitrary commission, was marched to the town-house, and thence to prison. On the 19th the fort itself was taken, and the frigate was mastered.

The colonists paused for a while before taking the next important step. On the 22d of May, the proclamation of William and Mary not having yet reached the country, forty out of fifty-four towns in Massachusetts voted to re-assume the old charter. Meanwhile the tidings of the late proceedings at Boston had reached Plymouth, and Nathaniel Clark,

the agent of Andros, was in jail, while Hinckley, the former governor, resumed his place. Soon afterwards Joseph Dudley was taken prisoner and conducted to Boston. Connecticut, following the example of Massachusetts, brought forth the charter from its hiding-place, and began new chapters in the records of freedom. The southern colonies imitated New England ; and thus did a popular insurrection, beginning at Boston, extend to the Chesapeake and to the wilderness. When the tidings of the proclamation of William and Mary reached Boston, the people were so rejoiced as to make "a great noise in the world."

On the 6th of June the representatives met in Boston, and voted the unconditional resumption of the charter, and resolved that all the laws in force May 12, 1686, should be continued until further orders. At the same time Increase Mather was holding converse with the king, and urging the restoration of the charter. He succeeded only in this—in obtaining an order that the government of the colony should be continued under the old charter until a new one was settled. Then remarked the king, "I will forthwith give order that Sir Edmund Andros shall be removed from the government of New England, and be called unto an account for his maladministration. And I will direct that the present king and queen shall be proclaimed by the former magistrates." "Sir," replied the agent, "they will do it with the joyfulest hearts in the world."

Andros, having reached England, was summoned to appear before the council, on the 17th of April, 1690 ; but owing to some irregularity in the drawing up of the charges, further proceedings were quashed, and the villain was discharged from custody. His associates were likewise released. We have only to trace the history of these men one step farther.

Andros afterwards became governor of Virginia, Randolph received an appointment in the West Indies, and Dudley became chief justice of New York.

For some time it had been evident that the king had resolved to erect a new government in Massachusetts, which was to be known as the Province of Massachusetts Bay. At length the Province charter of 1692 was obtained. By its terms the territories of Massachusetts, Plymouth, and Maine were consolidated into one jurisdiction; the king was to appoint the governor, deputy governor, and secretary, while the people could choose twenty-eight councillors. Each town was allowed two deputies to represent them in the General Court; rights of citizenship were to be respected, and liberty of conscience granted to all but Papists. By this charter, the dependence of the colonies upon the crown was secured. On the 14th of May, Sir William Phips, the first governor of the new province, arrived in Boston, "welcomed by a majority of the people."

CHAPTER VII.

THE PROVINCE OF MASSACHUSETTS BAY.

THE erection of the Province of the Massachusetts Bay was the "second act of the great drama, whose third brought freedom to a wide-spread republic." It also introduced a new era into the history of New England. Shortly after the arrival of Sir William Phips, a government was organized under the new charter. At the first session of the General Court, held in June, 1692, the laws which had been enacted under the colonial charter were confirmed until the following November. During the recess the laws were revised, and certain portions of them were submitted for the king's approval. One of these acts set forth that "no aid, tax, talliage, assessment, custom, loan, benevolence, or imposition, should be laid, assessed, or levied on any of their majesties' subjects, or their estates, on any pretence whatsoever, but by the act and consent of the governor, council, and representatives of the people, assembled in General Court." This, of course, was equivalent to a denial of the right of Parliament to tax the colonies for any purpose whatsoever; and as such it was speedily rejected by the king. Among other rejected acts were the one claiming the benefit of the writ of habeas corpus, and the one relative to the punishment of capital offenders, — the former on the ground that "the privilege had not yet been granted to the plantations," and the latter because it was founded upon the Mosaic rather than upon

English law. Of the acts approved by the king, several were of the utmost importance, more particularly the one which enjoined a religious observance of the Sabbath, and those which provided for the settlement and support of ministers, and for the fostering of education. It is to these wise provisions of our forefathers that we to-day owe our prosperity.

Sir William Phips, the first governor under the new charter, was a native of New England. Although an ardent lover of his country, he owed his elevation more to a concurrence of favorable circumstances than to the dignity of his character or to the sharpness of his intellect. He had followed the sea for many years, and had accumulated ample wealth. Returning home to Boston, he became high sheriff under the administration of Andros; and having united with the North Church, of which Cotton Mather was pastor, he not only proved himself a zealous disciple of Puritanism, but rose into high favor with the people. When the time came to nominate officers, Increase Mather, the agent of the colony in England, proposed the name of Phips as chief magistrate. The latter was chosen, and as early as possible returned home from England, whither he had gone on a visit. Among his associates in the new government were Saltonstall, Bradstreet, Appleton, Hathorne, Bradford, Hutchinson, all of whom, with others, had held office under the old charter.¹

As we have already stated, Governor Phips owed his elevation to office to the influence of the Mathers. If he had cut loose from this dependence after his inauguration, he would have lost nothing himself, and his country would have gained more. Sir William's intellect was exceedingly dull; his manner was headstrong; he knew little of the principles

¹ Hutchinson, ii. 20, 21, 69, 70.

of politics; and in religion he was a victim to superstition. To the Mathers, therefore, his friends and his favorers, he looked for that political energy, culture, and safe reliance, which he himself did not possess. Honest enough, good enough, and benevolent enough, he was, nevertheless, "much better fitted to manage the crew of a man-of-war than to sit at the helm of the ship of state."¹ We have the assertion of one of his biographers that "he would often speak to the members of the General Assembly in such terms as these: "Gentlemen, you may make yourselves as easy as you will forever. Consider what may have any tendency to your welfare, and you may be sure that, whatever bills you offer to me, consistent with the honor and interest of the crown, I will pass them readily. I do but seek opportunities to serve you. Had it not been for this, I had never accepted the government of this province. And whenever you have settled such a body of good laws, that no person coming after me may make you uneasy, I shall desire not one day longer to continue in the government."² Such sentiments are undoubtedly liberal; but in the case of Phips, they did not correspond with his administration.

Of the part which the new governor took in the witchcraft delusion, some mention will be made in a subsequent chapter. Of his vigilance in checking the hostilities of the Indians much might be said in commendation. At the same time he adopted a conciliatory policy, and in 1693 formed a league, which, if it had been kept, "would have restored peace to many desolated homes, and have delivered the people from that state of alarm in which they were involved for about twenty years." A trivial circumstance, a personal collision with Mr. Brenton, collector for the port of Boston, led

¹ Hutchinson, ii. 74.

² Mather, Magn., ch. xv.

to the removal of Governor Phips. There was a strong party in England indulging prejudices against him, and suits at law were instituted for alleged misdemeanors. Prior to his departure to answer to these charges, an incident transpired which goes far to prove the decline of his popularity. In 1694 a motion for an address to the king against the removal of Phips was made and carried by a bare majority. Nearly all of the inhabitants of Boston who represented the country towns voted in the negative. In order to prevent any further trouble, "the friends of Phips inserted a clause in a bill then pending requiring residence as a qualification for town representatives. The change thus introduced by the prerogative or court party, for merely personal ends, was highly important; for by requiring towns to choose one of their own citizens as delegates to the General Court, it brought the questions of the day directly to their doors, and compelled them to take an immediate interest in political discussions."¹

William Stoughton, a graduate of Harvard College, "a man of cold affections, proud, self-willed, and covetous of distinction," now assumed the management of the government. He had been educated for the ministry, but "the people judged him proper to take his father's place as a magistrate," and the remainder of his life was devoted to politics. Under Phips he had served as lieutenant governor, with credit to himself; and "to the day of his death, notwithstanding there were some whose friendship he could never secure, the body of the people regarded him with favor; and he left as few enemies as any one who had taken so active a part in the government, and who had passed through so many eventful vicissitudes." The administration of Stough-

¹ Barry, ii. 57.

ton was of only short duration ; for during the summer of 1695 the Earl of Bellamont was appointed governor. Mr. Stoughton, however, continued to fill the office until the arrival of the new magistrate in June, 1697.

At this time the crown was in search of a person capable of enforcing obedience to the laws of trade, which had been much neglected on the high seas, and the Earl of Bellamont was thought to be thus competent. In New York, where he first arrived from England, he was waited upon by a committee from Massachusetts, who tendered him the well wishes of the people. His commission included New York as well as Massachusetts; and he lost no time in entering upon the duties of his office. In May, 1699, he reached Boston, and was welcomed with marked respect. So sensitive was he to the attentions of the people that he remarked to his wife, " We should treat these gentlemen well, for they give us our bread." On all occasions he showed himself a perfect gentleman, always affable and courteous; and as a magistrate he conducted affairs with an honesty of purpose and a moderation worthy of all praise. As a proof of his popularity, it merits to be said that during his stay in the province, the General Court granted him the sum of twenty-five hundred pounds for the support of his government. Hitherto an almost insignificant sum had been assigned for this purpose. Much to the regret of his constituents, Lord Bellamont died in 1701. His best epitaph and the strongest commentary on the character of his predecessors, is furnished in his own words: " I will pocket none of the public money myself, nor shall there be any embezzlement by others."

As soon as the intelligence of Lord Bellamont's death reached England, Joseph Dudley, a native of Massachu-

setts, who "truly honored and loved the religion, learning, and virtue of New England, and was himself a worthy patron and example of them all,"¹ but whose character, nevertheless, was that of profound selfishness, succeeded in enlisting the sympathies of Cotton Mather, who wrote a letter to the king favoring his cause. He was accordingly appointed governor, and received his commission only a few months before the death of the king. Upon arriving in Massachusetts he received a welcome even from his opponents. On meeting his first assembly in 1702, he recognized among the members the faces of many of the council which had imprisoned him in 1689, and gave "instances of his remembering the old quarrel, and the people, on their part, resolved never to forget it." It was plain to see that he had acted imprudently, and that the current of prejudice was turned against him. One of his earliest proceedings was to demand for himself a stated salary. "As to settling a salary for the governor," replied the house, "it is altogether new to us; nor can we think it agreeable to our present constitution; but we shall be ready to do what may be proper for his support." In the summer he visited Fort Pemaquid, afterwards called Fort William Henry, and renewed the treaty with the Indians. Two years later, he wished to rebuild this fort, and the question was brought before the General Court; but the house, indignant at the insolent manner of the magistrate, which had been displayed upon former occasions, refused either to rebuild the fort at Pemaquid, or to contribute funds for the support of the fort at Piscataqua. Here began the controversies which nothing but independence could solve. Dudley became more and more unpopular; and a suspicion soon arose that his sympathies were wholly with the court party.

¹ Boston News Letter, No. 834.

In vain did he demand concessions to the royal prerogative, and useless were his onslaughts upon the chartered liberties of New England. "This country," wrote Paul Dudley, his son and the attorney general of the province, "will never be worth living in, for lawyers and gentlemen, till the charter is taken away. My father and I sometimes talk of the queen's establishing a court of chancery here."¹

Mr. Dudley's conduct finally became insufferable; and in 1708, an attempt was made to deprive him of his office. A petition charging him with "unheard-of corruptions and oppressions, and unjust and partial practices," was forwarded to Queen Anne. The storm of opposition had reached a fearful height, and but for more serious events, it would have entirely overwhelmed the magistrate. A war with the French engrossed the attention of the people; and in the mean time the party in favor of the governor gradually increased its strength, while that of the opposition proportionally diminished. The close of his administration was more tranquil than any one had a right to expect. In 1714, George I. came upon the English throne, and Mr. Dudley, now grown old, began to conduct himself in a more gracious manner. His last days were his best; and when, six years later, he went to his rest, his friends outnumbered his foes. Mr. Dudley "was as good a governor as one could be who loved neither freedom nor his native land. His grave is no more honored; his memory has perished from among those whose interests he flattered, and is preserved only in the country of his birth. He who loved himself more than freedom or his country, is left without one to palliate his selfishness."²

France and England were early rivals in the discovery and

¹ Hutchinson, ii. 140.

² Bancroft, iii. 100.

settlement of the new world. Although matched quite equally in maritime skill, the balance of power eventually turned in favor of England. As early as 1620, the sturdy pioneers of France had laid the foundations of Quebec, and there planted the doctrines of the Roman Catholic church. New settlements were quickly formed; and the colony of New France sprang into existence. The people of New England, being Protestants, viewed with jealous eyes the rapid progress of their neighbors at the north and west. "In point of population, indeed, the English outnumbered the French at least ten to one. It was not, therefore, in this respect that their power was dreaded. They were more formidable from their influence over the Indians within their borders. Their missionaries, with a zeal which has been highly applauded, had planted the cross in every village, and had scores of converts in every tribe; yet with the craft and duplicity which distinguished the Jesuits, instead of seeking to allay the brutal ferocity of the savages, they had instilled into them their own hatred of the English and their religion. The natural aversion of the tribes to the progress of the white race facilitated their plans; and no mass so vast and so combustible ever waited long for a spark to inflame it. As rivals in the fur trade, and rivals in the fisheries, collisions had frequently arisen; and the fires of discord were smouldering in New England, and in Acadia and Canada."¹

In 1689, at the time when the authority of Andros was overthrown, the General Court of Massachusetts conceived the project of making an attack upon Port Royal and Quebec. Upon the arrival of Phips, long known as an experienced seaman, the expedition was made ready and intrusted to his care. A fleet of seven vessels, carrying between seven

¹ Barry, ii. 77.

and eight hundred men, sailed to Port Royal, in the following spring, and forced its surrender. Enough plunder was obtained to defray all expenses ; and from this time onward Sir William Phips assumed control of the whole sea-coast extending from Port Royal to Boston. Shortly afterwards, the Indians, prompted by the French, began to commit frightful ravages in the New England territory. These encroachments induced a general war. England was early apprised of the intentions of the colonists, and was urged to forward a supply of arms and ammunition for the invasion of Canada. This request, owing to troubles which had arisen in the mother country, was not complied with ; whereupon Massachusetts, Connecticut, and New York, having formed an alliance, met in congress and resolved to proceed together.”¹

On the 9th of August, 1690, a fleet of upwards of thirty vessels sailed from Nantasket, and arrived before Quebec in the early autumn. A land army of about eight hundred men was marching towards Montreal by way of Lake Champlain. Meanwhile Count Frontenac, governor of Canada, having received intelligence of these proceedings, lost no time in preparing for the defence of the place. Placing the hatchet in the hands of La Plaque, the Indian informer, and grasping his own, “ he chanted the war-song and danced the wardance as a pledge of co-operation in repelling the invaders.” Not many days elapsed, however, before he discovered that his fears were premature. Dissensions had arisen in the ranks of the English, which had forced them to fall back to Montreal ; nor had the fleet under Phips yet arrived in sight. Taking advantage of this double discomfiture, Frontenac hastened to the Castle of St. Louis, “ the post of honor ;” the militia of Three Rivers and of the neighboring settlements

¹ Mather, *Life of Phips*.

were mustered into service, and M. de Ramsey and M. de Callières were placed in command.¹

Before his arrival, Major Provost, the commandant at Quebec, had prepared for the defence of the town. The Castle of St. Louis "was, by its natural position, almost impregnable; but for further security, lines of palisades, armed with small batteries, were formed round the crown of the lofty headland environing the town; the gates were barricaded with beams of timber, of massive size, and casks filled with earth; cannon were mounted at every advantageous position; and a large windmill of solid masonry was filled up as a cavalier. The lower town was protected by two batteries, each of three guns; and the streets leading up the steep, rocky face of the height were embarrassed with intrenchments and rows of chevaux-de-frise."

On the morning of the 5th of October, the approach of the English fleet was discovered. It was just rounding the headland of Point Levi, on the south shore of the St. Lawrence. Ascending stealthily, the vessels lowered their sails, and dropped anchor near the small village of Beaufort. Early the next day, Sir William Phips, elated by his previous successes, despatched a messenger to the French general, demanding an unconditional surrender, in the name of King William. "Your answer positive in an hour, by your own trumpet, with the return of mine, is required upon the peril that will ensue," — such were the closing words of the summons. The messenger was conducted blindfolded, through the town, and finally brought into the presence of Frontenac and others of his staff. "Read your message," said the aged governor. The English officer obeyed; and having ended, he took out his watch, saying, "It is now ten o'clock; I

¹ Charlevoix, iii. 87.

await your answer for one hour." Amid a burst of indignation, Frontenac exclaimed, "I know not King William; but I know that the Prince of Orange is a usurper, who has violated the most sacred rights of blood and of religion. He has destroyed the laws and privileges of the kingdom, and overthrown the English church; and the divine justice will one day punish him for his crimes. As to your chief, say that I will answer him at the cannon's mouth." With these words the conference ended; and the messenger returned in haste to the fleet.¹

At noon on the 8th, thirteen hundred men were embarked in the boats of the squadron, under the command of Major Walley. At La Canardière they effected a landing; and whilst the main army was forming along the shore, four companies pushed forward towards the town. On a sudden a terrific volley was poured upon them by a force of Canadians, who had posted themselves among the rocks and bushes. Confusion ensued, followed by a speedy rallying of the troops. With his whole army in line, Major Walley advanced to the St. Charles, where he quartered for the night. The same evening four vessels of the squadron having pushed up the river and anchored before the town, commenced firing; at the same time they received a tremendous response from the numerous guns of the fortress. At daybreak the attack was renewed; "the black muzzles of the cannon thrust from the bastions of the castle poured forth incessant volleys, while the guns of the ships, though constantly plied, made little impression. By noon, fully satisfied that the contest was hopeless, the assailants weighed anchor, and with the receding tide floated their crippled vessels out of the reach of the enemy's fire, but not without the loss of the flag of the rear

¹ Charlevoix, iii. 117, seq. Mather, *Life of Phips*.

admiral, which was shot away, and, as it drifted towards the shore, was seized by a Canadian, who swam out into the stream, and brought it in triumph to the castle, where for many years it was hung up as a trophy in the church of Quebec."

About noon on the 9th, the troops under Major Walley guided by a band of Iroquois Indians, marched against the stronghold on the left bank of the St. Charles. While on the way they were attacked by two hundred Canadians under the commands of De Longueil and St. Hélène, and forced to fall back. In a second attack Walley met with better success, and compelled his enemy to retreat. On the 10th another advance was made against the breastworks; but in the attempt to dislodge the enemy, the English received a terrible defeat, and, being utterly discouraged, re-embarked in their vessels, and returned home. Nine of these vessels were wrecked among the shoals of the St. Lawrence.¹

The arrival of Sir William Phips and the remnant of his command in Boston, in November, spread gloom over the community. A series of misfortunes following King Philip's war had impoverished the treasury; and everybody was downhearted and plunged in deep despair. "Considering the present poverty of the country, and, through scarcity of money, the want of an adequate measure of commerce," issues of bills of credit were authorized "to be in value equal to money, and accepted in all public payments." This was the first paper currency put forth in New England. Meanwhile in Quebec there were great rejoicings over the repulse of the English; and with a proud heart the gallant Frontenac penned the despatch which informed his master of the victory which had been achieved. To commemorate the same, a

¹ Hutchinson, i. 352-356. 2 M. H. Coll., iii. 256-260.

medal was struck off, and a church, dedicated to "Notre Dame des Victoires," was built in the lower part of the town.

The Indians, spurred onward by the French, now began to commit depredations. In the District of Maine, a war with the savages was carried on through the last ten years of the seventeenth century. At Groton, Billerica, Newbury, Lancaster, Andover, Haverhill, and other places nearer Boston, there were frequent scenes of midnight incendiarism; and "the murder and scalping of the inhabitants of these peaceful villages, and the captivity of helpless women and children," have been narrated by a French writer, as "actions that were brave and beautiful."¹ The story of a noble wife and mother, although often told elsewhere, must be repeated in this connection. During an incursion made upon Haverhill, in 1697, the Indians surrounded the house of Hannah Dustin. Her husband at the time was at work in the fields, and reached the house too late to defend his wife, who was ill in bed from a recent confinement, and had her young babe with her. He collected seven of his children, sent them running along the road, and with his gun in hand, repelled the assault, now cheering on the innocent group of little ones, till all reached a shelter. Meanwhile the savages burned the house, dashed the infant against a tree, and compelled Mrs. Dustin and her nurse to go with them. After weary marches through the forests, the party found themselves just above Concord, when the prisoners were told that they would be forced to run a gantlet as soon as they should reach the village. That night Mrs. Dustin, with her nurse and a young English boy from Worcester, planned escape. "Where would you strike," said the boy to his Indian mas-

¹ Charlevoix, iii. 318, seq.

ter, "to kill instantly?" The Indian told him how and where. While all, save the prisoners, were asleep, two women and a boy, each with a tomahawk in hand, put an end to ten of the twelve sleepers, scalped them, and bearing their trophies with them, dropped down the river in a bark canoe to Haverhill, where they astonished their friends by their escape and "filled the land with wonder at their successful daring."¹

In 1692 another expedition was projected into Canada. The tidings arrived from England that it had "pleased the king, out of his great goodness, and disposition for the welfare of all his subjects, to send a considerable strength of ships and men into the West Indies, and to direct Sir Francis Wheeler, the admiral, to sail to New England from the Caribbee Islands, so as to be there by the last of May, or the middle of June at farthest, with a strength sufficient to overcome the enemy, if joined and seconded by the forces of New England." "There can never," continues the secretary's letter, "be such an occasion for the people of New England to show their zeal for their religion and love to their king and country. His majesty has taken care, besides the ships of war, to send to you a thousand soldiers, if their number be not diminished by their service in the West Indies, under a commander who has looked the same enemy in the face, and will show an example worthy to be followed. Sir William Phips, I suppose, will be at the head of the New England volunteers, and will readily acquiesce, according to the rules of war, in leaving the chief command, as his majesty has determined it."² When the fleet spoken of in this royal communication arrived at Nantasket from the West Indies, in June, 1693, it had on board just eight hundred sailors and

¹ Mirick, *Hist. of Haverhill*, 86, seq.

² Hutchinson, ii. 70.

six hundred soldiers, or less than a third of its original equipment! It is enough to say that the expedition into Canada was, therefore, wholly abandoned for the present.

Meanwhile the French bethought themselves of recovering Acadia, which had fallen into the hands of the English four years before. The territory was regained in 1692; and in the late summer of 1696 Pemaquid was taken by the combined forces of D'Iberville and Castine. By this proceeding the French dominion was extended into the heart of Maine, and the English relinquished all their former claims in the north. In 1697 the French projected an invasion of New England; but their schemes were not destined to succeed, and they returned home without having put their project even to a test. By the peace of Ryswick, September 20, 1697, King William's War, so called, was brought to a temporary suspension. This peace "was a victory of the spirit of reform; for Louis XIV., with James II. at his court, recognized the revolutionary sovereign of England, and the encroachments of France on the German empire were restrained. In America, France retained all Hudson's Bay, and all the places of which she was in possession at the beginning of the war; in other words, with the exception of the eastern moiety of Newfoundland, France retained the whole coast and adjacent islands from Maine to beyond Labrador and Hudson's Bay, besides Canada and the valley of the Mississippi. On the east, England claimed to the St. Croix, and France to the Kennebec; and, had peace continued, the St. George would have been adopted as a compromise."¹

After a four years' truce, the war began again in 1702. The French and the English appeared to be no other than sworn and natural enemies. Each ached to get possession

¹ Bancroft, iii. 192. Palfrey, Hist. of New England, iv. 168.

of the other's territory, and each as greedily accused the other of trespass. In view of an approaching conflict, the French used all their skill to win the Indians into their confidence. They unceasingly encouraged them to deeds of blood and shame, and fairly gloried in all designs of treachery. In June, 1703, a congress of chiefs from the Penobscot to the Merrimack met Governor Dudley at Casco. "The sun," said they, "is not more distant from the earth than are our thoughts from war;" and then and there they made pledge of friendship, and sealed it with wampum. Scarcely six weeks had passed before the fierce Abenakis burst upon every house and garrison in that region, sparing "neither the milk-white brows of the ancient nor the mournful cries of tender infants." Like an avalanche they overwhelmed the country, spreading devastation and ruin wheresoever they went.

In February, 1704, while the picket watch was sleeping, and the snow had drifted over the palisades, a party of three hundred French and Indians, under the command of Major Hertel de Rouville, made an attack on Deerfield, one of the most beautiful of the western villages. Not unexpectedly had they come; for the peaceful inhabitants had been warned of impending danger by Colonel Schuyler, of New York, and the Mohawks. Since this warning there was "not a night but the sentinel was abroad; not a mother lulled her infant to rest but knew that before morning the tomahawk might crush its feeble skull." The garrison was easily surprised, and amid wild war-whoops which rent the air asunder, a terrible scene of slaughter, pillage, and conflagration ensued, which lasted for three hours. During the carnage a party broke into the house of Mr. Williams, the minister. He, his wife, and five of his children were seized; the house

itself was plundered, and two children and a negro woman were cruelly massacred. Like scenes were perpetrated in other parts of the village. Only one house and the church escaped destruction, the former being nobly guarded by seven colonists, whose wives were casting bullets for their guns. Forty-seven of the English were killed, and one hundred and eighty were led away prisoners; a few escaped, and bore the tidings of evil to other towns.

When the sun was an hour high, the murderous villains took their departure. Who can picture the sufferings of the unhappy prisoners? Who could count the bloody foot-prints in the snow? Mrs. Eunice Williams, the wife of the minister, had not forgotten her Bible; and at night, when the party paused to rest, the savages permitted the captives to read to them. Having but recently recovered from the ills of confinement, the good woman, exposed to the hardships of her winter journey, soon discovered that her strength was beginning to fail. To her husband, who reminded her of the "house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens," she "justified God in what had happened." Mindful of the dear ones whom she left behind, and commending them, under God, to their father's care, she fell in the Leyden Gorge a victim to the blow of a tomahawk. "She rests in peace," said her husband, "and joy unspeakable and full of glory." On the first Sunday of their march north, Mr. Williams preached from the text; "My virgins and my young men are gone into captivity." Having arrived in Canada, the prisoners were forced to attend Roman Catholic services, and to Mr. Williams was promised freedom and a pension if he would join the Roman Catholic church. He sternly refused; but twenty-eight of his associates assented, "whence kindred blood now rattles bad French in Canada or

sputters Indian in the north and north-west." The minister's daughter Eunice, a child of but seven years of age, was adopted into the village of the Praying Indians, near Montreal; she became a Catholic, and afterwards the wife of a Cahnewaga chief; and when, after long years, she revisited Deerfield and her friends, who had been redeemed from captivity, not one iota of regard for the customs of civilized life, or for the tenets of the Puritan church, remained in her heart. "In spite of a day of fast of a whole village, which assembled to pray for her deliverance, she returned to the fires of her own wigwam, and to the love of her own Mohawk children."¹

On the last of July, the same year, a party of four hundred French and Indians fell upon Lancaster, and burned the meeting-house and several dwellings. During this and the two following years, other towns likewise suffered. "There is no tale to tell of battles like those of Blenheim or of Ramillies, but only one sad narrative of novel dangers and sorrows. In the following years the Indians stealthily approached towns in the heart of Massachusetts, as well as along the coast, and on the southern and western frontiers. Children, as they gambolled on the beach; reapers, as they gathered the harvest; mowers, as they rested from using the scythe; mothers, as they busied themselves about the household,—were victims to an enemy who disappeared the moment a blow was struck, and who was ever present where a garrison or a family ceased its vigilance."²

¹ Williams, *Redeemed Captive*, p. 27, seq. Palfrey, *Hist.* iv. 262, seq. Bancroft, iii. 214. Rev. Eleazer Williams, the pretended Dauphin of France, and Bourbon Prince Royal, who made such a sensation some years ago, was Eunice's grandson.

² Bancroft, iii. 214. Penhallow, 28.

In 1708 the village of Haverhill, overlooking the waters of the Merrimack, contained, besides a new meeting-house, about thirty log-built cottages. Like other New England villages, it was mostly peopled by honest, God-fearing farmers, whose sole wealth lay in the blooming fields and the towering forests. At the close of a summer's day, the 29th of August, whilst the inhabitants were resting from their wonted labors, and were wholly unconscious of danger, the bloodthirsty Rouville, with his followers, drew near. At daybreak he addressed his men, and impiously called upon God to sanction his deed. The crack of the rifle was followed by the war-whoop, and scenes of bloodshed ensued. Among the first to fall was Benjamin Rolfe, the minister; an Indian tomahawk was plunged deep into the head of his wife, and her innocent babe, snatched from her dying grasp, was dashed against a stone. Thomas Hartshorne and two of his sons were shot. John Johnston and his wife fell side by side, and after the death of the latter, her babe was found clinging to her breast. Other unfortunates were dealt with in a similar manner. At the first fire Samuel Wainwright fell to the ground. His wife, Mary, unbarred the doors, and invited the savages into the house; and "when they demanded money, she retired as if to bring it, and gathering up all the children save one," she made good her escape. On this memorable day forty of the inhabitants found their death. Only a few, shielded by the gallantry of the intrepid Davis and others from Salem, and of Samuel Ayer, — a name never to be forgotten in the village annals, — succeeded in escaping from the general massacre. As the sun disappeared in the west, the awful tragedy was over. The bodies of the fallen were mournfully interred. An ancient mound still marks their resting-place, and a moss-grown stone, with

its rude epitaph, stands by the grave of Rolfe and his family.¹

What wonder is it that these sorrowful events inspired the deepest hate towards the French and their savage allies? "I hold it my duty towards God and my neighbors," wrote Peter Schuyler to the Marquis of Vaudreuil, "to prevent, if possible, these barbarous and heathen cruelties. My heart swells with indignation when I think that a war between Christian princes, bound to the exactest laws of honor and generosity, which their noble ancestors have illustrated by brilliant examples, is degenerating into a savage and boundless butchery. These are not the methods for terminating the war. Would that all the world thought with me on this subject."

Meanwhile the encroachments of the French increased daily. Whilst their general was planning to seize and defend the whole country in the regions of the Kennebec, Massachusetts was urged to rebuild the fort at Pemaquid. The importance of Pemaquid, as a check to French aggression, was very great, inasmuch as it completely covered the approaches to the Kennebec, the Sheepscot, Damariscotta, and Pemaquid Rivers. Being at the doors, it was also "a standing menace against the Indian allies of the French, with a garrison ready to launch upon their villages, or intercept the advance of war parties towards the New England settlements. Its presence exasperated the Abenakis, on whose territory it was, beyond measure; the French found them ever ready to second projects for its destruction."² The General Court of Massachusetts failed to see the importance

¹ Hutchinson, ii. 157. Mirich, *Hist. of Haverhill*, 117-134. Bancroft, iii. 215, seq. Penhallow, 47. Comp. Charlevoix, ii. 325-6.

² Charlevoix, *New France*, 239.

of maintaining the stronghold, and contended that the funds of the government were needed for other purposes. In 1709 England prepared to send a fleet to America for the purpose of "punishing the audacity and insolence of the French;" and great efforts were made in New England to organize and equip a new expedition against Canada. The fleet failed to arrive, however; the troops which had been raised were as hastily discharged; and thus a new scheme of conquest, through the negligence of England, was fated to prove an abortion. The energies that had been kindled into life were wasted in inactive expectation.

In the following year a final expedition against the French proved successful. At the instance of Francis Nicholson, lieutenant governor of New York, and under his immediate command, six English vessels, joined by thirty of New England and four New England regiments, two of which were commanded by Sir Charles Hobby and Colonel Tailer of Massachusetts, one by Colonel Walton of New Hampshire, and the fourth by Colonel Whiting of Connecticut, sailed for Acadia. On the 24th of September, after a voyage of six days, the fleet anchored before Port Royal. Without delay the troops were landed, and preparations were made for attacking the fortress. At this time, Subercase, the French governor, had control of the place; but his garrison, numbering only two hundred and fifty men, was both weak and insubordinate. Mortar batteries were erected, and for three or four days the siege continued; so steadily was the fire from the ramparts kept up, that the garrison was on the verge of starvation. At length Subercase sent a flag of truce, with a request that the ladies in the fort might be permitted to find shelter in the English camp. The request was granted; and the storming recommenced. On the 1st of October, Subercase

received a summons to surrender; a cessation was agreed upon; the terms of capitulation were arranged, and on the 5th, the garrison, now reduced by over a hundred men, marched out with the honors of war, and Port Royal became the spoil of the victors. In honor of the queen the name of the place was changed to Annapolis. Having thus made himself master of Acadia, and left a garrison at the fort under the command of Colonel Vetch, General Nicholson returned with his fleet and army to Boston.¹

As soon as possible Nicholson hastened to England to bear the tidings of his success, and to urge the conquest of Canada. The French, it was said, were making dangerous progress in the west, and it was feared that in consequence the commercial interests of the colonies might suffer. "It is well known" — such are the words in the memorial addressed to the queen — "that the French can go by water from Quebec to Montreal. From thence they can do the like, through rivers and lakes, at the back of all your majesty's plantations on this continent as far as Carolina; and in this large tract of country live several nations of Indians, who are vastly numerous. Among those they constantly send emissaries and priests, with toys and trifles, to insinuate themselves into their favor. Afterwards they send traders, then soldiers, and at last build forts among them; and the garrisons are encouraged to intermarry, cohabit, and incorporate among them; and it may easily be concluded that, upon a peace, many of the disbanded soldiers will be sent thither for that purpose."² Nicholson succeeded in obtaining his request.

A fleet comprising fifteen ships of war and forty transports, under the command of Sir Hovenden Walker, seven

¹ Hutchinson, ii. 164-167, Charlevoix, &c.

² Bancroft, iii. 219.

regiments of veterans, from Marlborough's army, under General Hill, and six hundred marines, were ordered to sail from England. At the same time the governments of New England, New York, the Jerseys, and Pennsylvania were ordered to raise the quotas assigned to them, with a ten weeks' supply of provisions. On the 25th of June, 1711, the fleet arrived at Boston; and from this time onward to the last of July, preparations were going on for a departure. As there was a great lack of money wherewith to purchase provisions, the General Court of the province determined to issue forty thousand pounds in bills of credit, "to be loaned to merchants and others for the term of two years, for the purchase of bills of exchange on the treasury of England." In the mean time, troops from Connecticut, New York, and New Jersey, and a band of about six hundred Iroquois, assembled at Albany, in readiness to march against Montreal, and only waiting to receive tidings of the departure of the fleet.

But no tidings of this nature arrived. All the troubles incident to the raising and quartering of a large force suddenly upon the country began to show themselves; and it soon became manifest that the fleet could no longer remain at Boston without causing the whole design to end in disgrace. On the 30th of July, the English squadron, now increased to eighty vessels, left Boston. Towards the last of August it began to ascend the St. Lawrence. While on the voyage Admiral Walker was contriving how he should secure his vessels during the winter at Quebec. On the evening of the 22d, a dense fog arose, which completely blinded the ships' course. "The pilots, with one accord, advised that the fleet should lie to, with the heads of the vessels to the southward: this was done, and even so the

vessels were carried towards the northern shore. Just as Walker was going to bed, the captain of his ship came down to say that land could be seen; and without going on deck, the admiral wantonly ordered the ships to head to the north. There was on the quarter-deck a man of sense—Goddard, a captain in the land service; he rushed to the cabin in great haste, and importuned the admiral at least to come on deck; but the self-willed man laughed at his fears, and refused. A second time Goddard returned. ‘For the Lord’s sake come on deck,’ cried he, ‘or we shall certainly be lost; I see breakers all around us!’—‘Putting on my gown and slippers,’ writes Walker, ‘and coming upon deck, I found what he told me to be true.’ Even then the blind admiral shouted, ‘I see no land to the leeward!’ but the moon, breaking through the mists, gave him the lie.”¹

A strong breeze was blowing from the east, and slowly, but surely, the fleet was forced among the Egg Islands. The frigates were saved from the shoals; but when morning disclosed the work of a single night, it was found that eight transports had been wrecked, and “eight hundred and eighty-four brave fellows, who had passed scathless through the sanguinary battles of Blenheim, Ramillies, and Oudenarde, perished miserably on the desolate shores of the St. Lawrence.” A council of war was at once convened, and it was voted unanimously that it was impossible to proceed. Thus the enterprise was abandoned without striking a single blow. “Had we arrived safe at Quebec,” wrote Admiral Walker, “ten or twelve thousand men must have been left to perish of cold and hunger; by the loss of a part, Providence saved all the rest.”² Undoubtedly he considered his “successful retreat” equal to a glorious vic-

¹ Bancroft, iii. 223.

² Walker’s Journal, 72, seq.

tory. On the other hand, "the French colony," writes Charlevoix, "could not but recognize a Providence which watched singularly over its preservation, and which, not satisfied with rescuing it from the greatest danger it had yet run, had enriched it with the spoils of an enemy whom it had not had the pains to conquer; hence they rendered Him most heartfelt thanks."¹

Cast down by this failure, which "affected the whole country seven years after," the colonists abandoned all hopes of the reduction of Canada, firmly believing that "Providence never designed the whole northern continent of America to be under the dominion of one nation." But the time for the fulfilment of these things had not yet come.

¹ Charlevoix, ii. 357, seq. Penhallow, 62-67.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE WITCHCRAFT DELUSION.

IN order clearly to understand the most tragic episode in our history, we must seek to carry ourselves back to the state of the colony of Massachusetts, one hundred and eighty odd years ago. The persecutions which our ancestors had undergone in the Old World, and the privations which they were forced to endure soon after their arrival in the New, imparted a solemn and gloomy turn to their dispositions and associations, which was transmitted to their children and was aggravated by the peculiar circumstances of the period. In an age of superstition, the imagination had reached a monstrous growth. In a wilderness where neither civilization nor cultivation prevailed, where wild beasts and Indians roaming about with freedom were objects always to be feared, the Puritan mind suffered a want of confidence and compassion, and gave origin to a rooted sympathy of horror and hostility. Between the scattered villages in the colony there was but little communication; the people, having recently lost their charter, were kept in a state of anxiety respecting their future political destinies; the sea-coast was infested with hostile privateers; commerce was stagnated, and almost every person in office had become the victim of jealousies, animosities, and discontent. At such a time, amid such circumstances, and when all minds were startled and confounded by the prevalence of prophe-

cies and forebodings of dismal events, the common belief arose that the Evil Spirit himself was let loose, and was permitted to descend upon the colonists with unexampled fury. Our fathers even entertained the opinion that certain of their number had made an actual compact with Satan, by which it was agreed that they should become his faithful subjects, and do what they could to promote his cause. Thus a witch, or wizard, the former term being applied to the female and the latter to the male members of the community, was considered in the light of a person who "transferred allegiance and worship from God to the devil."¹

The earliest trial for witchcraft in Massachusetts occurred in 1648, when Margaret Jones, of Charlestown, was "indicted and found guilty of witchcraft, and hanged for it."² During a period of forty years there were similar instances in Massachusetts and Connecticut. The evidences of bewitchment were various. "Sometimes they would be deaf, then dumb, then blind; and sometimes all these disorders together would come upon them. Their tongues would be drawn down their throats, then pulled out upon their chins. Their jaws, necks, shoulders, elbows, and all their joints would appear to be dislocated, and they would make most piteous outcries of burnings, of being cut with knives, beat, &c., and the marks of wounds were afterwards to be seen." All the divines of the period labored hard to prove that these were the effects of familiarity with the devil. "So violent was the popular prejudice against every appearance of witchcraft, that it was deemed meritorious to denounce all that gave the least reason for suspicion. Every child and gossip was prepared to recognize a witch, and

¹ Upham's *Lect. on Witch.*, 9-19.

² Winthrop, ii. 326.

no one could be certain of personal safety. As the infatuation increased, many of the most reputable females, and several males also, were apprehended and committed to prison. There is good reason to believe that, in some instances, the vicious and abandoned availed themselves of opportunities of gratifying their corrupt passions of envy, malice, and revenge.”¹

For some years previous to 1692, a controversy respecting the settlement of a minister had subsisted in Salem. Several of the most influential persons, “who had been considered as the fathers and governors of the town for half a century,” had recently been removed by death. Enough bigoted and superstitious believers in the doctrine of witchcraft remained to assert that these misfortunes were wholly caused by satanic influence, and by their own opinions and arguments they only aggravated the general prejudice and fanaticism. “The spark fell upon inflammable matter,” says Dr. Bentley, “and, behold, how great a matter a little fire kindleth.”²

In the month of February, 1692, two girls, a daughter and a niece of the Rev. Mr. Parris, a minister of Salem Village,³ aged nine and twelve years respectively, began to act “in a strange and unusual manner.” They would utter loud and piteous cries, creep into holes, hide under benches, and put themselves into odd postures. The physicians pronounced them bewitched. Ere long other girls in the neighborhood were afflicted in a like manner; and Mr. Parris, having invited all the ministers to his house to unite with him in solemn religious services, the children became more violent, and “cried out upon,” or accused,

¹ Thatcher, *Essay*, 98.

² *Hist. of Salem*, in *M. H. Coll.*

³ Now North Danvers.

Tituba, an Indian woman attached to the family, of having bewitched them. Tituba denied that she was herself a witch, but acknowledged that she had learned how to discover one. Such a confession as this was enough to satisfy the credulity of her accusers. Next the children complained of Sarah Good and of Sarah Osborn, the one a melancholy and distracted woman, and the other an old bed-ridden woman ; and these were arrested and thrown into prison. A few weeks later, two other women, of most excellent character, Corey and Nurse, were likewise accused and put in irons. The husband of Tituba, under the influence of fear, charged other persons with the same crime ; and Parris proclaimed that "the devil hath been raised among us, and his rage is vehement and terrible, and when he shall be silenced the Lord only knows."¹

The number of the accused daily multiplied. The ministers from the pulpits preached inflammatory sermons, and thus kindled popular indignation into a blaze. One of the principal actors in this whole affair was Cotton Mather, who aspired to be considered as the great champion of the church, and the most successful combatant against the prince of the power of the air. Folly seems to have reduced his sobriety of judgment, and to have made him a dupe to his own credulity. He adopted the doctrine of demons, wrote much on the subject of witchcraft, and repeatedly endeavored to get up a delusion of the kind in Boston. Indeed, there are strong reasons for supposing that he was instrumental in causing the delusion in Salem. The burden of blame of the terrible tragedy of his time rests largely upon him. Others may have been culpable, and have done much to foster the delusion ; and the people themselves were, undoubtedly,

¹ Calef, in *Fowler's Salem Witchcraft*.

in perfect concurrence with the modes of thinking in the times in which they lived. Mather was learned, and, as an historian, bequeathed rich and important matter to posterity: for so doing, this country owes him a debt of gratitude. On the other hand, his mind was prone to bigotry and dogmatism in religion, his ways were exceedingly artful and cunning, and, in his attempts to shift the blame of folly upon others, and at the same time to keep alive stupidity and superstition in the minds of the people, he was not outdone even by a Jesuit. The manner in which he endeavored to escape the odium that attached to the prosecutions is characteristic of the man. "I do humbly but freely affirm," he says, "that there is not a man living in this world who has been more desirous than the poor man I, to shelter my neighbors from the inconveniencies of spectral outcries; yea, I am very jealous I have done so much that way as to sin in what I have done; such have been the cowardice and fearlessness, whereunto my regard unto the dissatisfaction of other people has precipitated me. I know a man in the world, who has thought he has been able to convict some such witches as ought to die; but his respect unto the public peace has caused him rather to try whether he could not renew them by repentance."¹

Before the end of March the number of the afflicted had increased to ten; and as "Satan's assaults" were not suffered to subside for the want of support, six of the magistrates were convened at Salem, and formal proceedings were instituted.² On this occasion the ministers were pres-

¹ Mather, *Wonders of the Invisible World*, in Fowler.

² "Let us walk on through Essex Street, unheeding the throng, unmindful of the statelier buildings, until we approach an ancient landmark at the corner of North Street. Its claims on our attention are twofold. It is said to have been the dwelling of Roger Williams, for whom Southey, when

ent, and Parris was "conspicuous for the officiousness of his zeal." From his own record, still extant, it appears that the latter was neither an impartial advocate nor an unbiassed judge. The door being once opened, the number of the prisoners rapidly increased. The most effectual way to escape accusation was to become an accuser. More than a hundred women, in the towns of Salem, Beverly, Andover, Billerica, &c., were committed to jail. Goodwife Corey, being apprehended, was brought in for trial. In the courtroom several witnesses were present who professed to have been bewitched by her, and the "most of them accused her of biting, pinching, and strangling, and said that they did, in their fits, see her likeness coming to them and bringing a book for them to sign." The woman could only deny these charges, and was, therefore, remanded to jail. Shortly afterwards a negro slave was examined. "Are you a witch?" inquired the magistrate. "Candy no witch in her country. Candy's mother no witch. Candy no witch, Barbadoes. This country, mistress give Candy witch." "Did your mistress make you a witch in this country?" "Yes, in this country, mistress give Candy witch." "What did your mistress do to make you a witch?" "Mistress

reminded that Wales had been more famous for mutton than great men, avowed he had a sincere respect; yet it is even more celebrated as the scene of examinations during the Reign of Terror in 1692. In appearance the original house might have been transplanted out of old London. Its peaked gables, with pine-apples carved in wood surmounting, its latticed windows, and colossal chimney, put it unmistakably in the age of ruffs, Spanish cloaks, and long rapiers. It has long been divested of its antique English character, now appearing no more than a reminiscence of its former self. However, from a recessed area at the back, its narrow casements and excrescent stairways are yet to be seen. A massive frame, filled between with brick, plastered with clay, with the help of its tower-like chimney, has stood immovable against the assaults of time. Such houses — and their number is not large — represent the original forest that stood on the site of ancient Salem." — *Drake, Nooks and Corners of the N. E. Coast*, 222.

bring book, and pen, and ink, make Candy write in it." Mrs. Haskins, the mistress, being brought in, could save her life only by making a confession.

The story of Mrs. Carey, of Charlestown, is thus told by her husband: "Having for some days heard that my wife was accused of witchcraft, and being much disturbed at it, we went to Salem by advice to see if the afflicted knew her. The prisoners were called in before the justices, singly, and as they entered were cried out against by the afflicted girls. The prisoners were placed about seven or eight feet from the justices, and the accusers between the justices and the prisoners. The prisoners were ordered to stand directly before the justices, with an officer appointed to hold each hand lest they should therewith afflict the girls; and the prisoners' eyes must be constantly fixed on the justices; for if they looked on the afflicted, they would either fall into these fits, or cry out of being hurt by them: after examination of the prisoners, who it was that afflicted these girls, &c., they put them upon saying the Lord's Prayer as a trial of their guilt. When the afflicted seemed to be out of their fits, they would look steadfastly on some one person, and not speak, and then the justices said they were struck dumb; and after a little time they would speak again; then the justices said to the accusers, Which of you will go and touch the prisoner at the bar? Then the most courageous would venture, but before they made three steps would fall on the floor as if in a fit. The justices then ordered that they should be taken up and carried to the prisoner, that she might touch them; and as soon as this was done the justices would say they are all well, before I could discern any alteration; but the justices seemed to understand the manner of the strange juggle. Two of the

accusers, who pretended to be bewitched, were Abigail Williams, niece of Mr. Parris, aged eleven or twelve years, and Indian John, the husband of Tituba, who was now in jail. This fellow had himself been accused of witchcraft, but had now become an accuser for his own safety. He showed several old scars, which he said were the effects of witchcraft, but more likely of the lash. On inquiry who they would accuse as the cause of their sufferings, they cried out Carey; and immediately a warrant was sent by the justices to bring my wife before them. Her chief accusers were two girls; my wife declared to the justices that she never had any knowledge of them before that day.

“She was obliged to stand with her arms extended. I requested that I might hold one of her hands, but it was denied me. She then desired that I would wipe the tears and the sweat from her face, and that she might lean herself on me, as she was faint; but Justice Hathorn said she had strength enough to torment those persons, and she should have strength enough to stand. I remonstrated against such cruel treatment, but was commanded to be silent, or I should be turned out of the room. Indian John was now called in to be one of the accusers; he fell down and tumbled about like a brute, but said nothing. The justices asked the girls who afflicted the Indian; they answered, she (meaning my wife): the justices ordered her to touch him in order to his cure; but her head must be turned another way, lest, instead of curing, she should make him worse by looking on him; her hand was guided to take hold of his, but the Indian seized hold of her hand, and pulled her down on the floor in a violent manner; then his hand was taken off, and her hand put on his, and the cure was quickly wrought. My wife, after being thus cruelly treated,

was put into prison, and the jailer was ordered to put irons on her legs which weighed about eight pounds. These chains, with her other afflictions, soon produced convulsion fits, so that I was apprehensive she would have died that night. I entreated that the irons might be removed, but in vain. I now attended the trials at Salem, and finding that spectre evidence, together with idle or malicious stories, was received against the lives of innocent people, I trembled for the fate of my wife, as the same evidence that would serve for one would serve for all. In this awful situation, I thought myself justifiable in devising some means of escape; and this, through the goodness of God, was effected. We were pursued as far as Rhode Island, but we reached New York in safety, where we were kindly received by Governor Fletcher. To speak of the treatment of the prisoners, and the inhumanity shown them at their executions, is more than any sober Christian can endure. Those that suffered, being many of them church members, and most of them of blameless conversation.”¹

Upon the organization of the new government, the sad work of prosecution proceeded with increased violence. Mr. Phips, the governor, and Stoughton, the lieutenant governor, owed their elevation to office to the favor of the Mathers, and both “had one trait in common” — a regard to their private interests. Each fell in with the spirit of the age, and sanctioned it by official support. One of the first acts of the new administration was the institution of a court of Oyer and Terminer; and in June and July this court continued in session at Salem. The officers of this court were William Stoughton, chief judge, Nathaniel Saltonstall, John Richards, Bartholomew Gedney, Wait Win-

¹ Carey's statement in *Thatcher*, 122, seq.

throp, Samuel Sewall, and Peter Sargent. The first experiment was made on Bridget Bishop, a poor, friendless woman. Parris preferred the charges against her, and was himself the principal witness. "There was one very strange thing more," adds Dr. Mather, after enumerating these charges, "with which the court was newly entertained. As this woman was under a guard, and passing by the great and spacious meeting-house of Salem, she gave a look towards the house, and immediately a demon, invisibly entering the meeting-house, tore down a part of it, so that though there was no person to be seen there, yet the people, at the noise, running in, found a board, which was strongly fastened with several nails, transported unto another quarter of the house."¹ By the rules of Keeble and Sir Matthew Hale, of Baxter and Cotton Mather, Bridget Bishop was pronounced a "notorious witch," and on the 10th of June she was hanged. The court then adjourned.

On the 30th the court assembled again, and five pale, haggard, despairing women, Sarah Good, Sarah Wildes, Elizabeth Howe, Susanna Martin, and Rebecca Nurse, were brought in for trial. All of them had had a previous hearing, and been committed to jail. Mr. Noyes, the minister, urged Sarah Good to confess, saying he knew she was a witch, and she knew she was a witch. "You are a liar," she replied; "I am no more a witch than you are a wizard."² At the trial of Susanna Martin, it was proved that one John Kembel had promised to purchase a puppy from the prisoner, but had, instead, bought one of another person, and that Martin was heard to say, "If I live, I will give

¹ Mather, in Fowler. Hale, *Modest Inquiry*, 37.

² "Mr. Noyes was a learned, a charitable, and a good man, though all the devils in hell, and all the possessed in Salem, should assert the contrary." — Brattle, in 1 M. H. Coll., v. 64.

him puppies enough." To the following piece of evidence the court attached great weight: "Within a few days after this, Kembel coming out of the woods, there arose a little black cloud in the north-west, and Kembel immediately felt a force upon him, which made him not able to avoid running upon the stumps of trees that were before him, although he had a broad, plain cartway before him; but though he had his axe on his shoulder to endanger him in his falls, he could not forbear going out of his way to tumble over them. When he came below the meeting-house, there appeared to him a little thing like a puppy of a darkish color, and it shot backwards and forwards between his legs. He had the courage to use all possible endeavors to cut it with his axe, but he could not hit it; the puppy gave a jump from him, and went, as to him it seemed, into the ground. Going a little further, there appeared unto him a black puppy, somewhat bigger than the first, but as black as a coal. Its motions were quicker than those of his axe. It flew at his body and at his throat, so over his shoulders one way, then over his shoulders another way. His heart now began to fail him, and he thought the dog would have torn his throat out; but he recovered himself, and naming the name of Jesus Christ, it vanished away at once."

Rebecca Nurse was universally beloved by her neighbors. She was aged and infirm, and at her trial the jury rendered a verdict of "not guilty." However, "the honored court was pleased to object against the verdict." The jury were ordered out again to consider better one expression of the prisoner when before the court. They now brought her in guilty. After her condemnation, she was taken in chains to the meeting-house to be formally excommunicated by Mr.

Noyes, and "given to the devil." A few days later the governor, for some reason or other, granted a reprieve; but her deluded persecutor, Parris, both preached and prayed against her so successfully that the reprieve was recalled.¹ On the 19th of July, these five condemned women were conducted through the narrow lane, where stood the jail, to the bleak summit of Gallows Hill. A crowd has assembled, and a trained band of musketeers, armed and watchful, are to bear them company. With tottering steps the victims mount the cart; the guards surround, and all is ready. It required a company of men, in that age of superstition, to conduct five helpless women to their death. Arrived at the scene of execution, silence is imposed upon the multitude. The provost-marshal reads the warrant, and the prisoners are pinioned and blindfolded. Five martyrs stand upon the gallows, and, in the name of William and Mary, they are launched into eternity. "What a sad sight it is to see eight firebrands of hell hanging there!" says Mr. Noyes, turning toward the lifeless bodies.

On the 5th of August the court sat again, and four men and one woman were sentenced to be executed. Of the number was Mr. George Burroughs, a man of the most exemplary Christian character. He had received the honors of Harvard College in 1670, and at the time of his arrest he was the minister of a congregation in Wells, a town in Maine. It was alleged against him that he possessed superhuman strength, and had been seen to perform almost miraculous feats. The prisoner at the bar had little to say in refutation of the charges of his accusers. Being condemned, in rags he was carried in a cart through the streets of Salem to his execution, which took place on

¹ M. H. Coll., xxiii. 175.

the 19th of the same month. "While Mr. Burroughs," says a contemporary writer, "was on the ladder, he made a speech, for the clearing of his innocence, with such solemn and serious expressions as were to the admiration of all present; his prayer was so well worded, and uttered with such composedness and such fervency of spirit, as was very affecting, and drew tears from many, so that it seemed to some that the spectators would hinder the execution." After his execution, his body was dragged by a rope over the ground, and buried among the rocks. This ignominious death was the reward bestowed upon an octogenarian life!

John Willard was another victim on this fatal day. He had been employed to arrest suspected persons, but becoming convinced of the injustice of such proceedings, he refused to work longer. The afflicted immediately denounced him, and, being condemned, he suffered death on the gallows. John Proctor and his wife were sentenced on the same day. Foreseeing his doom, the former had sent a petition, not to the governor and council, but to Cotton Mather and the ministers. But all his entreaties were vain. The witnesses against his wife, Elizabeth, were Indian John and three or four girls. The evidence was exceedingly whimsical, as is manifest from the following extract: "Elizabeth Proctor, you understand whereof you are charged, viz., to be guilty of sundry acts of witchcraft; what say you to it? Speak the truth, as you will answer it before God another day." "I take God in heaven to be my witness, that I know nothing of it, no more than a child." Her husband was also in court, and the girls now began to cry out against him. "What hurts you?" asked the court. "Goodman Proctor, and his wife, too." "What do you say, Goodman Proctor, to these

things?" "I know not; I am entirely innocent." By such miserable evidence they were both sentenced to execution. Elizabeth Proctor, being with child, was reprieved.¹

Her own children were among the witnesses against Martha Carrier. It was asked her daughter, a child of seven years of age, "How long hast thou been a witch?" "Ever since I was six years old." "How old are you now?" "Near eight years old; brother Richard says I shall be eight years old in November next." "Who made you a witch?" "My mother; she made me set my hand to a book." "How did you set your hand to it?" "I touched it with my fingers; and the book was red, the paper of it was white." The child said she had never seen the black man; the place where she had set her hand to the book was in Andrew Foster's pasture, and Elizabeth Johnson, Jr., was there. Being asked who was there besides, she answered, her aunt Toothaker, and her cousin. Being asked when it was, she said when she was baptized. "What did they promise to give you?" "A black dog." "Did the dog ever come to you?" "No." "But you said you saw a cat once; what did that say to you?" "It said it would tear me in pieces if I would not set my hand to the book." "How did you afflict folks?" "I pinched them." "How did your mother come to you when she was in prison?" "She came like a black cat." "How did you know it was your mother?" "The cat told me so, that she was my mother." In concluding his report of the trial, Cotton Mather writes, "This rampant hag, Martha Carrier, was the person of whom the confessions of the witches, and of her own children among the rest, agreed, that the devil had promised her she should be queen of hell."

¹ Calef, in Fowler.

Margaret Jacobs accused her aged grandfather, and then, wounded by her conscience, retracted her confession. "The Lord, I hope, in whom I trust, out of the abundance of his mercy, will forgive me my false forswearing myself. What I said was altogether false against my grandfather and Mr. Burroughs, which I did to save my life and to have my liberty; but the Lord charging it to my conscience, made me in so much horror, that I could not contain myself before I had denied my confession; choosing rather death with a quiet conscience, than to live in such horror. And now, may it please your honors, I leave it to your pious and judicious discretion, to take pity and compassion on my young and tender years, to act and to do with me as the Lord and your honors shall see good; having no friend but the Lord to plead my cause, not being guilty in the least measure of the crime of witchcraft, nor any other sin that deserves death from the hands of man." The magistrates refused to credit her confession, and hung her grandfather. Thus five more were executed on the 19th of August.

Giles Corey, aged about eighty years, was brought to trial, and, seeing that all were convicted, refused to plead. By an old English law, he was condemned to be pressed to death. When in the agonies of death the victim thrust out his tongue, and the officer pushed it into his mouth with his cane. Corey's wife suffered at the gallows, where she made an eminent prayer. On the 22d of September, two men and six women were executed; and this was the last execution.¹ Already twenty persons had been cruelly put to death. Never, perhaps, was the sacred prediction more

¹ See the poet Longfellow's tragedy of "Giles Corey, of Salem Farms," which is founded on these events.

strikingly verified: "From henceforth there shall be five in one house divided, three against two, and two against three. The father shall be divided against the son, and the son against the father; the mother against the daughter and the daughter against the mother; the mother-in-law against her daughter-in-law, and the daughter-in-law against her mother-in-law." Whilst the prosecutions were continued, it was a season of the deepest gloom and anxiety. For a time no life was safe; and so great was the prevailing terror that whosoever was charged with guilt confessed it, and thus blinded the judges. "From March to August, 1692," writes Dr. Bentley, "was the most distressing time Salem ever knew: business was interrupted, the town deserted, terror was in every countenance, and distress in every heart. Every place was the subject of some direful tale, fear haunted every street,—melancholy dwelt in silence in every place after the sun retired. The population was diminished, business could not for some time recover its former channels, and the innocent suffered with the guilty. But as soon as the judges ceased to condemn, the people ceased to accuse. Terror at the violence and the guilt of the proceedings succeeded instantly to the conviction of blind zeal, and what every man had encouraged, all now professed to abhor. Every expression of sorrow was found in Salem. The church erased all the ignominy they had attached to the dead, by recording a most humble acknowledgment of their error. But a diminished population, the injury done to religion, and the distress of the aggrieved, were seen and felt with the greatest sorrow."¹

When charges were brought against persons of whose innocence everybody was satisfied, the crisis was produced.

¹ History of Salem, in M. H. Coll.

Even the imbecile mind of Cotton Mather learned a lesson by experience, and he was forced to exclaim, "The whole business is hereupon become so snarled, and the determination of the question, one way or another, so dismal, that our honorable judges have room for Jehoshaphat's exclamation, We know not what to do. They have used, as judges have heretofore done, the spectral evidences, to introduce their further inquiries into the lives of the persons accused; and they have thereupon, by the wonderful providence of God, been so strengthened with other evidences, that some of the witch gang have been fairly executed. But what shall be done as to those against whom the evidence is found chiefly in the dark world? Here they do solemnly demand our addresses to the Father of lights on their behalf. But in the mean time the devil improves the darkness of this affair to push us into a blind man's buffet; and we are ever ready to be sinfully, yea, hotly and madly, mauling one another in the dark. The consequence of these things every considerate man trembles at, and the more, because the frequent cheats of passion and rumor do precipitate so many that I wish I could say the most were considerate."¹

At this juncture the court adjourned. Before it assembled again, Cotton Mather prepared his account of "The Wonders of the Invisible World," with the design of promoting "a pious thankfulness to God for justice being so far executed among us." The accusation of Mrs. Hale, wife of the minister of Beverly, broke the spell. Such was

¹ Mather, in Fowler. Hale, 34-37. In reply to Calef, Mather complacently says, "For my own part, I know not that ever I have advanced any opinion in the matter of witchcraft but what all the ministers of the Lord that I know of in the world, whether English or Scotch, or French or Dutch (and I know many), are of the same opinion." The pamphlet containing this remarkable assertion is in the Harvard Library.

her genuine and distinguished character that superstition itself could not sully it. Mr. Hale, who had been active in the previous proceedings, was less active when the storm turned against his wife. Moreover, everybody knew her innocence and piety, and felt that her accusers had perjured themselves. Outraged justice stood forth once more in the light of day, and wielded her powers to preserve. The images and visions that had possessed the bewildered imaginations of the people flitted away. All men could have exclaimed, in the language of the great master of the drama, —

“ See ! they’re gone —
The earth has bubbles, as the waters have,
And these are some of them ; they vanished
Into the air, and what seemed corporal,
Melted as breath into the wind.”

Said Mr. Brattle, whose views were in advance of his time, “ The court is adjourned to the first Tuesday in November, then to be kept at Salem ; between this and then will be the great assembly, in which this subject will be peculiarly agitated. I think it is matter of earnest supplication and prayer to Almighty God, that he would afford His gracious presence to the said assembly, and direct them aright in so weighty an affair. Our hopes are here ; and if at this juncture God does not graciously appear for us, I think we may conclude that New England is undone.”¹ On the 18th of October the representatives of the people assembled ; and the people of Andover remonstrated against the doings of the self-constituted tribunal, not a single member of which, from the chief judge down to the lowest

¹ M. H. Coll., v. 76.

official, had been elected by the suffrage of the people. "We know not," said the remonstrants, "who can think himself safe, if the accusations of children, and others under a diabolical influence, shall be received against persons of good fame."¹ We know only the issue of the discussions which followed. The excess of the evil wrought its cure; and as the excitement subsided, the prominent actors in the tragedy began to reflect. Sewall acknowledged his error, and begged the forgiveness of those he had wronged. Hale made a similar confession in his "Modest Inquiry."²

In April, 1693, many members of his church drew up articles against Mr. Parris. "They charge the said Parris of teaching such dangerous errors and preaching such scandalous immoralities as ought to discharge any man, though ever so gifted otherwise, from the work of the ministry. Particularly in his oath against the lives of several, wherein he swears that the prisoners with their looks knock down those pretended sufferers. We humbly conceive that he who swears to more than he is certain of, is equally guilty of perjury with him that swears to what is false." Mr. Parris was allowed no peace and comfort after this outburst in his parish; and the inexorable indignation of the Salem people finally drove him from the place.³

The pudding-faced, sanctimonious, and unfeeling Stoughton, notwithstanding that the twelve men who had served as jurors in the court at Salem had published a recantation of their sentiments, never repented. When he was informed of the action of his brethren, he observed that when he sat

¹ Calef in Fowler. Abbot's Hist. of Andover, 164.

² Hutchinson, ii. 62. Drake, Hist. of Boston, i. 502. The "Modest Inquiry" was first published in 1697.

³ Bentley, Hist. of Salem. Calef, in Fowler.

in judgment, he had the fear of God before his eyes, and gave his opinion according to the best of his understanding. Although it might appear afterwards that he had been misled into error, he saw no necessity of making a public acknowledgment of it.¹

Cotton Mather, as we have previously remarked, was the leading champion in the persecution of the witches. He also never repented. The public mind understood him at last; it discovered his credulity and his self-righteousness. In order to shield himself, and to cover up his confusion, he endeavored to persuade others that he had not been specially active in the tragedy. But he found it to be a task greater than he could accomplish. With all his scholarship and his intellectual ability, he was by his whole life a bane to Massachusetts and New England, and a dupe of his own stupidity.

The witchcraft delusion was, at the best, a most unhappy affair. Some have spoken of it in terms of contempt; others have unsparingly denounced all who participated in it; while only a few have weighed the subject dispassionately. Perhaps the words of an eminent jurist may most fittingly close the present chapter:—

“We may lament the errors of the times, which led to these persecutions. But surely our ancestors had no special reasons for shame in a belief which had the universal sanction of their own and all former ages; which counted in its train philosophers as well as enthusiasts; which was graced by the learning of prelates as well as by the countenance of kings; which the law supported by its mandates, and the purest judges felt no compunctions in enforcing. Let Witch Hill remain forever memorable by this sad catastrophe, not

¹ Hutchinson, ii. 62.

to perpetuate our dishonor, but as an affecting, enduring proof of human infirmity, a proof that perfect justice belongs to one judgment-seat only—that which is linked to the throne of God.”¹

¹ Hon. Joseph Story, Centennial Address, 1828.

CHAPTER IX.

THE SPIRIT OF THE PEOPLE.

JOSEPH DUDLEY was removed from office shortly after the accession of George I. An attempt was made to confer the government of Massachusetts upon Colonel Burgess, who, although he was a professed "friend to liberty," and of an "open, generous, and humane disposition," was particularly obnoxious to the people. He did, indeed, receive his commission; but the offer of a thousand pounds sterling persuaded him to relinquish the same in favor of Samuel Shute, who, to the popular element at least, was more acceptable. The politicians of New England had many prejudices; and it required something more than mere administrative ability to overcome them.

During the latter part of the administration of Governor Dudley there was felt a serious stringency in money affairs. The wars which England had waged on the continent of Europe had not only largely increased her own debt but also crippled the resources of her colonies. To remedy the evil, merchants and politicians were continuously devising schemes. Some advocated a return to the gold and silver currency; others argued in favor of a public bank; while still others labored for the establishment of a private bank. The governor's council favored the public bank; but the house was divided in opinion. Thus the differences of opinion gave rise to a wide-spread controversy, which was agitated, not alone by

the government, but by the whole community as well. After a prolonged wrangle, the public-bank party prevailed, and "a loan of fifty thousand pounds in bills of credit was agreed to by the General Court, which was placed in the hands of trustees, and loaned for five years at five per cent. interest, one fifth of the principal to be paid yearly." This settlement of the vexed question was displeasing to many; and if it diminished the strength of the private-bank party, it increased their zeal.¹

As was anticipated, Governor Shute, upon his arrival at Boston, in October, 1716, allied himself with the party which had triumphed. By so doing he won no friends in the private-bank party; on the contrary, the opposition of the latter to his administration was from beginning to end marked by extreme violence.

At this time the province of Massachusetts was in a prosperous condition. Within its bounds there were living "ninety-four thousand white persons, who possessed two thousand slaves, and twelve hundred civilized Indians, who professed Christianity and tilled their lands in peace." The population of all the colonies at this time was, according to the official reports, four hundred and thirty-four thousand and six hundred. The commerce of the country had rapidly increased. Massachusetts owned at least one hundred and ninety vessels, navigated by eleven hundred seamen; in the fisheries alone one hundred and fifty vessels and six hundred men were engaged. "The value of the annual imports to all the American plantations at this date is estimated at 'one million sterling, in British products and manufactures and foreign goods,' the conveyance of which employed at least a fourth part of the shipping cleared from the kingdom.

¹ Hutchinson, ii. 187, 190. Barry, ii. 72.

The exports at the same date amounted to eight hundred thousand pounds sterling ; and the balance of two hundred thousand pounds fell upon the provinces to the northward of Maryland, who were enabled to discharge the same by the trade they were permitted to carry on in America and to Europe, in commodities not enumerated in the Acts of Trade. From Boston alone, in the three years ending June 24, 1717, there were cleared for the West Indies, including the British islands, five hundred and eighteen ships, sloops, and other vessels ; for the Bay of Campeachy, twenty-five vessels ; for foreign plantations, fifty-eight vessels ; for Newfoundland, forty-five vessels ; for Europe, forty-three vessels ; for Madeira, the Azores, &c., thirty-four vessels ; for Great Britain, one hundred and forty-three vessels ; for British plantations on the continent, three hundred and ninety vessels ; and eleven vessels for 'ports unknown ;' an aggregate of twelve hundred and forty-seven vessels, amounting to sixty-two thousand seven hundred and eighty-eight tons of shipping, and employing eight thousand six hundred and ninety-seven men." It will thus be seen that Massachusetts, more than a century and a half ago, was the same busy and enterprising community as at present.

"If the colonies are so prosperous," reasoned the king's ministers, "we should reap the benefit of that prosperity ; and they, as subjects, are bound to contribute to the relief of our necessities. If England is burdened with debt, America must aid in paying that debt ; and if the colonies will not voluntarily submit, they must be forced to obey. We can make our power felt ; and if they refuse to yield, we must punish their stubbornness by retrenching their privileges." If England was not prone to perceive that the prosperity of her colonies was her own prosperity, she was shrewd enough

to discover that proprietary governments showed "too great an inclination to be independent of their mother country, and carried on a trade destructive to that of Great Britain." "It hath ever been the wisdom," said the ministers, "not only of Great Britain, but likewise of all other states, to secure by all possible means the entire, absolute, and immediate dependency of their colonies." Hence the beginning of an attempt to reduce the colonies of America by "compelling them, by proper laws, to follow the commands sent them by the crown."

For some time back the English government had entertained the opinion that manufactures in the plantations "tended to lessen their dependence on Great Britain." It was said in print, as early as 1705, that "the colonists will, in process of time, cast off their allegiance to England, and set up a government of their own;" and soon it was said, "by people of all conditions and qualities, that their increasing numbers and wealth, joined to their great distance from Britain, would give them an opportunity, in the course of some years, to throw off their dependence on the nation, and declare themselves a free state, if not curbed in time, by being made entirely subject to the crown." In these years England always manifested an autocratic spirit towards her colonies; her extreme selfishness demanded a stern exercise of arbitrary power; and, like an unnatural parent, she treated her subjects, for more than seventy years, as aliens and rivals. It is not to be wondered at that the latter in return refused to submit to such conduct, or at least showed their disapproval of it by tokens of disrespect.

When, in 1719, Great Britain placed restrictions upon nearly every branch of colonial industry, when it was decreed that "none in the plantations should manufacture iron wares of

any kind whatsoever," that hats should not be transported from one plantation to another, and that "any forge going by water" should cease "making bar or rod iron," then the wrath of the people knew no bounds, and for a while the government was in a constant state of trepidation. Every day the finances of the province became more embarrassing; trade began to languish, and money grew scarce. All those who depended on salaries for support were reduced to great want and suffering; even the interests of religion and of education tended to decay; manufacturing ceased altogether; and finally, whilst the rich were growing richer and the poor were growing poorer, the province appeared to many to be on the verge of bankruptcy and ruin.

Governor Shute was not equal to such an emergency, nor was his conduct such as was calculated to conciliate the people. If the newspaper press complained of wrongs, he was sure to censure its outspoken voice. Between himself and the House an endless controversy was maintained. At the opening of the court, in March, 1721, the governor recommended certain measures which he deemed of importance. Among these were recommendations that something ought to be done to prevent the depreciation of the currency; that the authors of seditious writings ought to be punished; that unlawful trade with the French at Cape Breton ought to be suppressed; and that his own salary ought to be increased. The House took no notice of any of these proposals, but even made matters worse by choosing a new speaker, and acquainting the governor and council that "John Clark, Esq., is chosen speaker of the House, and is now sitting in the chair." Whilst the governor, in the height of rage, was pondering over the next step to be taken, the small-pox became prevalent in Boston, and the terrified court adjourned to

Cambridge, where, in the month of June, they adopted a new system of tactics. At the same time the governor advised the ministers in England that "the assembly, composed of men more fit for the affairs of farming than for the duty of legislators, showed no regard to the royal prerogative or instructions, but endeavored to transgress the limits of the charter, though he was indeed supported by the council, who themselves wanted assistance."

Mention has been made of the small-pox. It broke out in April, and spread itself with frightful rapidity. Over five thousand persons were attacked by this loathsome disease in Boston alone, of whom eight hundred and forty-four failed to recover. At the instance of Cotton Mather, Dr. Boylston, a noted physician of the day, was persuaded to try the experiment of inoculation upon his own children and servants; but the majority of the profession strenuously opposed its practice, because they were either "not sufficiently assured of its safety and consequences," or reckoned it "a sin against society to propagate infection by this means." Certain pious people even went so far as to insinuate that, if any of the patients of Dr. Boylston died, he "should be treated as a murderer;" and finally the House prohibited inoculation entirely. Those who dared to favor the practice were subjected to the most shameless abuses by the populace; and in more than one instance they were threatened with mob vengeance. In the end, be it said, its defenders triumphed.

During these discussions the Indians, who had been instigated by the French, again gave cause for difficulties. The chief villain in this scheme was Sebastian Rasles, a Jesuit missionary, who had falsely accused the New England colonists of encroaching on territory belonging to the tribes.

Led on by this man, the Indians began once more to commit depredations. The House resolved to punish the offenders, and ordered that a hundred and fifty men should be sent to Norridgewock, a lovely village on the Kennebec, to "compel the Indians to make full satisfaction for the damages they had done." At the same time a warrant for the arrest of Rasles was issued. These resolves were deemed by the governor equivalent to a declaration of war, and consequently an invasion of the prerogative. They were, therefore, rejected by the council. In August, 1721, two hundred Indians, marching under French colors, visited Georgetown, a small island town below Arrowsic, and left a threatening message for the governor. In November, an English party under the command of Colonel Thomas Westbrook repaired to Norridgewock and captured the papers, but not the person of Rasles. His faithful disciples had taken care to "secure him, and to fly with him into the woods." The young Baron de Castine, a half-breed, who was both a war chief and held a French commission, was also seized, conveyed to Boston, and there put into close confinement. This proceeding inflamed the Indians more than ever before, and in the following year they landed at Merry Meeting Bay, now Alton Bay, and took several families prisoners. The burning of Brunswick soon followed.

In August, the government of Massachusetts branded the Eastern Indians as traitors and robbers, and declared war against them. The House presumed to take the whole management of the affair upon themselves, when the governor, having informed them that "the king, his master, and the royal charter, had given him the sole command and direction of the militia, and all the forces which might be raised on any emergency, and that he should not suffer himself to be

under any direction but his own, and those officers he should think fit to appoint," caused them no little annoyance. The controversy was not yet ended, when the magistrate secretly left the country, never more to return.

The House was resolved not to abandon the war which it had so unceremoniously declared. Each day added to the list of outrages committed by the savages. Canseau had been surprised, and sixteen vessels belonging to Massachusetts had been taken. Rasles still lurked in the neighborhood of Norridgewock. In despair he viewed the weakness of his defence, and the departure of many of his red people into Canada. "I count not my life dear unto myself," said he, "so I may finish with joy the ministry which I have received." The expedition to Penobscot, which had set out under public auspices, foresaw that the safety of the coast towns could never be secured until the Indians should have been driven far away. Breathing vengeance, Westbrooke's party made an atrocious attack on Norridgewock, on the evening of the 24th of August, 1724. So carefully was the advance guarded by Harmon's rangers and a company of Mohawks, that the village was surrounded before the inhabitants had received any intimation of their approach. A shower of bullets swept through the streets; some of the Indians escaped; but all who remained, including men, women, and children, were massacred. After they had pillaged the church and the cabins, and set fire to the village, the invaders hastened their retreat.

"The noise and tumult," says Charlevoix, "gave Père Rasles notice of the danger his converts were in, and he fearlessly showed himself to the enemy, hoping to draw all their attention to himself, and to secure the safety of his flock at the peril of his life. He was not disappointed.

As soon as he appeared, the English set up a great shout, which was followed by a shower of shot, when he fell dead near to the cross which he had erected in the midst of the village. Seven chiefs, who sheltered his body with their own, fell around him. Thus did this kind shepherd give his life for his sheep, after a painful mission of thirty-seven years." As soon as the English had gone, the savages returned to secure their wounded and to bury their dead. Rasles' body was found horribly mangled, his skull broken, scalped, and his mouth and eyes filled with dirt. "After his converts had raised up and oftentimes kissed the precious remains, so tenderly and so justly beloved by them, they buried him in the same place where he had, the evening before, celebrated the sacred mysteries, namely, the spot where the altar stood before the church was burnt."¹ Thus perished Sebastian Rasles, the "most noted of the Catholic missionaries in New England." He was sixty-seven years of age, and had been a preacher of the gospel in America just thirty-seven years.

Previous to this event, the government of Massachusetts, in order to stimulate the activity of private parties, had offered a reward of fifteen pounds, and afterwards of a hundred, for every Indian scalp. In the winter of 1724-5, John Lovewell raised a company of volunteers, and made one or two successful expeditions; in a third sally to a place called Fryeburg, he was surprised and slain. In December, a treaty of peace was agreed upon in Boston; and in the following year, 1726, the lieutenant-governor of Massachusetts, the lieutenant-governor of New Hampshire, and General Mascarene of Nova Scotia, ratified the treaty at Falmouth. Thus ended Indian difficulties which had lasted nearly forty

¹ Charlevoix.

years; with the overthrow of the missions, the ruin of French influence was completed. "Influence by commerce took the place of influence by religion, and English trading-houses supplanted French missions. The eastern boundary of New England was settled."¹

From these scenes, we must now turn to the political movements in Massachusetts. After the sudden departure of Shute, William Dummer, the lieutenant-governor, remained at the head of affairs. In the beginning he gave the court to understand that he was willing to "concur with them in any measure for his Majesty's service and the good of the province." "Although the unerring Providence of God" — Samuel Sewall, the stern advocate of the people's rights, arose to reply — "has brought your honor to the chair of government in a cloudy and tempestuous season, yet you have this for your encouragement, that the people you have to do with are part of the Israel of God, and you may expect to have of the prudence and patience of Moses communicated to you for your conduct. It is evident that our Almighty Saviour counselled the first planters to remove hither and settle here; and they dutifully followed his advice, and therefore he will never leave nor forsake them nor theirs; so that your honor must needs be happy in sincerely seeking their happiness and welfare, which your birth and education will incline you to do. *Difficilia quæ pulchra*. I promise myself that they who sit at this board will yield their faithful advice to your honor, according to the duty of their place."²

As might have been expected, Governor Shute laid his grievances before the king, and demanded an investigation of the same. After his departure, the House sent two memo-

¹ Bancroft, iii. 338.

² Boston News Letter, No. 989.

rials to England, in justification of their late proceedings. But the king and his council, all unfavorable to the province, decided that they had acted wholly in the wrong. The death of George I. was followed by a change in the ministry; and Governor Shute, who was just on the point of sailing for America, was deprived of his commission, and the same was bestowed on William Burnet, formerly governor of New York, and a son of Bishop Burnet, the historian of the Reformation. The new governor arrived in Boston in July, 1728, pompously welcomed both by the press and the pulpit. Mather Byles, the poet of the province, thus celebrated the event:—

“Welcome, great man, to our desiring eyes;
Thou earth, proclaim it! and resound, ye skies!
Voice answering voice, in joyful consort meet;
The hills all echo, and the rocks repeat.
And thou, O Boston, mistress of the towns,
Whom the pleased Bay with am'rous arms surrounds,
Let thy warm transports blaze in numerous fires,
And beaming glories glitter on thy spires;
Let rockets streaming up the ether glare,
And flaming serpents hiss along the air.”¹

Governor Burnet may have been heartily gratified by the vain show of the populace; but certain it is, he was in no wise bewildered by such flattering attention. In his opening address to the court he made known his Majesty's intentions, and swore to adhere to them. Whether this was a challenge or not, the House chose to consider it as such, but were not intimidated. At the session in July the House granted him seventeen hundred pounds towards his support and to defray the expenses of his journey. He refused to accept this amount, and insisted on an established salary. Hitherto it had been the custom to make such grants as the good offices of the governor might seem to merit; and never had a

¹ Drake's Hist. of Boston, 581.

regular salary been fixed. By clinging to this policy, the House believed that it would be impossible for the governor ever to become independent of the legislature, or control their proceedings by his own pleasure. Burnet demanded a change without further debate; the patriots scorned "to betray the great trust reposed in them by their principals." The affair assumed a serious turn. "If you refuse to accede," said the governor, "the legislature of Great Britain may take into consideration the support of the government, and perhaps something else besides," — meaning the charter. Such a menace as this only added fuel to the flame. The House, however, still remained firm; the towns unanimously supported them, and Boston especially gave token of its aversion to the proposals of the king in strong terms. An attempt was made in September to conciliate the governor by granting him one thousand pounds sterling for half a year's management of affairs; but he refused to accept such a sum.

On the 24th of October the governor adjourned the court to Salem; the board of trade censured the stubbornness of the House; and the agents of Massachusetts advised concession. "It is better," responded the representatives, "that the liberties of the people should be taken from them, than given up by themselves." Wearied with the contest, the House resolved to petition the king for redress. A subscription was raised, and Mr. Francis Wilkes, a New England merchant then resident in England, and Mr. Jonathan Belcher, a prominent member of the Council, were selected as agents. The appeal was presented to his Majesty, but failed of recognition, and it began to appear as if the affair would finally be brought before Parliament. In the midst of the controversy the governor died; and in September,

1729, the administration again passed into the hands of William Dummer.

Mr. Jonathan Belcher, a young man of pleasing address, was still in England when the tidings of Burnet's death arrived. Fired with ambition, and supported by Shute and other of his friends, he applied for the governorship, and obtained it. One reason why he was thus chosen was, that no one else possessing the ability could be found in the kingdom willing to accept the appointment; and, furthermore, it was thought that he, being popular among his own countrymen, would be the better able to arrange the unsettled state of affairs. Before his return to America, Mr. Dummer saw fit to advise the statesmen of New England. "I am not afraid," he wrote, in August, "to add my hearty wishes that the assembly would, of choice and by their own consent, comply with his Majesty's instructions, and fix the governor's salary for the time of his government, or for a term of years. I am of opinion that they cannot do a wiser or better thing in their present circumstances. As they have agreed on the question, and have determined to give it annually, it's a pity they won't go a step farther, and make it a resolve of the House, by which they will at once restore themselves to his Majesty's favor, and put an end to the confusions and distractions among themselves. New England justly boasts of her loyalty; but methinks it would not be amiss if to that we added a little complaisance to the crown, if such an expression may be allowed. I am afraid, if we don't do it willingly, we shall be compelled to do it unwillingly. The ministers are determined to lay it before Parliament, and if they bring in the bill, who will undertake to get it thrown out?"¹

¹ Letter in Lib. M. H. Soc.

Governor Belcher reached Boston on his return from England about the middle of August, and in the following month he communicated his instructions to the assembly. "In case of the refusal of the House to comply with these instructions," he said, "his Majesty will find himself under a necessity of laying the undutiful behavior of the province before the legislature of Great Britain, not only in this single instance, but in many others of the same nature and tendency, whereby it manifestly appears that this assembly, for some years last past, has attempted by unwarrantable practices to weaken, if not to cast off the obedience they owe to the crown, and the dependence which all colonies ought to have on their mother country."¹ As before, the House maintained its position on the question of the governor's salary; and at last Belcher obtained leave of the crown to accept the annual grants, and thus put an end to the controversy. The Gordian knot of provincial freedom remained uncut, and the strong will of Massachusetts had achieved a victory which largely influenced its future politics.

In 1739 England declared war with Spain. Six years before, the latter had concluded a family compact with France for the ruin of the maritime supremacy of England, and since that time she had labored hard to preserve her own monopoly on the high seas, to put down the vast system of smuggling which rendered it valueless, and to restrict English commerce to the negro slave-trade, and the single ship stipulated by the treaty of Utrecht. The English people were mad for war; Walpole, the minister, stood alone for peace. When at length war was declared, Walpole bowed to the popular will. "They may ring their bells now," said he, as peals and bonfires welcomed his defeat, "but they

¹ Hutchinson, ii. 333.

will soon be wringing their hands." This struggle, which began in an ill hour for England, in a happy one for America, exerted great influence upon the destinies of New England. Admiral Vernon, with an English fleet, had already bombarded and taken Portobello; and Governor Belcher had received orders to encourage the enlistment of troops in Massachusetts to aid in the expedition against Cuba. In the spring of 1740, Massachusetts sent forth five hundred of her young men; the majority of them either fell victims to the insalubrity of the climate, or came back with ruined constitutions. Only a very few perished in battle. By this unreasonable aggression, the province of Massachusetts was still more impoverished, and the remainder of Governor Belcher's administration was marked by an endless series of pecuniary difficulties.

About this time the dispute which had long been waged, relative to the boundary lines between Massachusetts and New Hampshire, and Plymouth and Rhode Island, was finally adjusted. The governor made a state entry into Hampton Falls in August, 1737, accompanied by the legislature, and by five troops of horse. In the George Tavern long conferences about the provincial boundaries were held with the assembly of New Hampshire. The latter demanded the territory which now composes her two lower tiers of towns, which had been settled by Massachusetts men under Massachusetts charters. As the parties failed to agree, an appeal was transmitted to the king, setting forth how "the vast, opulent, and overgrown province of Massachusetts was devouring the poor, little, loyal, distressed province of New Hampshire." The heart of the king was touched; whereupon he commanded Massachusetts to surrender to New Hampshire a tract of land comprising twenty-eight towns,

and extending from the Connecticut River to the sea. At the same time another piece of country to the south was assigned to Rhode Island. The governor's pompous visit to the Falls gave origin to the following pasquinade:—

"Dear Paddy, you ne'er did behold such a sight
As yesterday morning was seen before night.
You in all your born days saw, nor I didn't neither,
So many fine horses and men ride together.
At the head the lower house trotted two in a row,
Then all the higher house pranced after the low;
Then the governor's coach galloped on like the wind,
And the last that came foremost were troopers behind;
But I fear it means no good to your neck nor mine,
For they say 'tis to fix a right place for the line."

By his steady opposition to the current schemes of the province, Governor Belcher gradually became unpopular. Even his friends in England were prejudiced against him, and united with his enemies at home in seeking for his removal. At length his administration came to an end in 1741; his integrity, which had been impeached, was vindicated in England, and six years later he received an appointment as governor of New Jersey. He was one of the most elegant gentlemen of his time in manners and appearance, a native of New England, one of Harvard College's best friends, and a great favorite with all with whom he associated. Taken all in all, he was as amiable, generous, and noble-hearted a man as any of whom the province could boast; perhaps, therefore, it was fortunate for him and for his country that his administration ended before he had done anything to merit public rebuke. After his decease, which took place in New Jersey in 1757, his remains were brought home to Massachusetts and deposited in the old churchyard in Cambridge. The tomb—since known as the Dana tomb—may still be seen near the gateway.

The immediate successor of Governor Belcher was William Shirley, a native of Sussex, in England, and a rising lawyer by profession. Previous to his appointment he had resided eight years in New England, and was one of the commissioners chosen to adjust the boundary line between Massachusetts and Rhode Island. He entered upon the duties of his office in the summer of 1741, and by prudent management he soon won the full confidence of the people. In the early part of his administration a religious movement, known as the "Great Awakening," agitated America. In opposition to the rigorous creed of Calvin, — the creed of the Puritan founders of Massachusetts, — new forms of faith were springing up. In 1699 was founded the Brattle Street Church in Boston, which long continued to advocate views essentially different from those laid down in the Puritan creed. Not only churches, but eminent individuals were "hereticals" on some points, and even Dunster and Chauncy, presidents of Harvard College, because they cherished other than the prevailing views on the subject of baptism, were classed with the "obnoxious" set. In rapid succession, societies of Antinomians, Anabaptists, Gortonists, and Quakers were gathered; advocates of Episcopacy followed; and "when Arminian and Socinian doctrines were advanced, it seemed to those who had been brought up in the 'straitest sect' of former days as if the flood-gates of degeneracy were opened upon the world, and as if New England was to be buried beneath the waves of infidelity and apostasy." So many changes in religion could not fail to give rise to a controversy.

Jonathan Edwards, born in Connecticut in 1703, and for many years a preacher of the gospel, had already, by his marvellous sermons, unevadable in their directness, incon-

trovertible in their logic, and terrific in their earnestness, induced a wide-spread enthusiasm. He, the greatest of American metaphysicians, wielding the magnetic power of Chrysostom, had given form to the faith of the past, and reduced fluctuating opinions to a symmetrical system. Upon the advent of George Whitefield, above all others the preacher of the revival, the "trumpeter" of the Great Awakening, the struggle which had been convulsing the community was brought to a crisis. His preaching, although theatrical, extravagant, and oftentimes commonplace, was such as had never been heard before; its intense reality, its earnestness of belief, its deep, tremulous sympathy with the sin and sorrow of mankind, hushed all criticism. It was no common enthusiast who could wring gold from the close-fisted Franklin, and admiration from the fastidious Horace Walpole, or who could look down from the top of a green knoll at Kingswood on twenty thousand colliers, grimy from the Bristol coal-pits, and see, as he preached, the tears, "making white channels down their blackened cheeks." As in England, so in America, his nervous eloquence stirred a passionate hatred in his opponents. The ministers of the province were divided in their opinions, and while some welcomed him as an ally, others denounced him as an "itinerant scourge." His adherents became known as the "new lights;" his opponents as the "old lights," and between the two lay the party of reform, with Chauncy as its leader.

The conflict continued. The press helped to foment the strife, and hundreds of ponderous works were put forth by the ministers. Indeed, nearly every clergyman in the land felt it to be his duty to take a position either on one side or the other, and to deal blows either for good or for evil in the controversy. New England has never known so

thorough an "awakening;" and if it produced no lasting result, it certainly secured a free discussion, and hastened the progress of light and truth.

In 1744, France declared war with England. Before the tidings had reached America, Duvivier had fitted out an armament at Louisburg, in Cape Breton, surprised the little English garrison at Canseau, destroyed the fort and the fishery, and taken eighty prisoners. Other places were likewise threatened. Louisburg was at this time the stronghold of the French in the east, and the people of New England looked with awe upon its sombre walls, whose towers rose like giants above the northern seas. Its harbor was guarded by a heavy battery on Goat Island, and by the Grand Battery stationed near the entrance. A deep moat and projecting bastions were on the landward side, and opposite was the great careening dock. An unbroken line of defences also surrounded the town. Late in the summer the prisoners taken at Canseau were sent to Boston on parole; and from them accurate accounts were obtained relative to the condition of the Louisburg fortress.

Governor Shirley at once resolved on an enterprise for its reduction. Messengers were despatched to England to solicit ships of war for the protection of the east; Commodore Warren was invited to lend his assistance; and the details of the proposed plan were fully sanctioned by the legislature. The whole charge of the expedition devolved upon New England. Massachusetts furnished three thousand two hundred and fifty troops; New Hampshire, three hundred; and Connecticut five hundred. Colonel William Pepperell, of Kittery Point, Maine, was appointed to the command of this force, to whom also George Whitefield gave the motto, *Nil desperandum, Christo duce*, — "Nothing is to be despaired of,

with Christ for the leader," — thus making the enterprise a sort of Puritan crusade. "The naval force, besides transports, consisted of three frigates of twenty guns each, a 'snow' of sixteen guns, a brigantine of twelve guns, and five sloops mounting from eight to twelve carriage-guns, provided at the expense of Massachusetts; the armed sloops of Connecticut and Rhode Island, each of sixteen guns, and a small vessel from New Hampshire. The military munitions consisted of eight cannon carrying twenty-two pound balls, twelve carrying nine-pound balls, two twelve-inch mortars, and two of less diameter, taken from the castle, and ten eighteen-pound cannon borrowed from New York."¹

The troops arrived at Canseau in April, 1745, and were joined by Commodore Warren's West India fleet. Everything in Canseau was in a quiet state; and while the French still persisted in treating the invasion as a mere farce, the English were equally sure of the success of the undertaking. "Our success," wrote Shirley, "will depend on the execution of the first night after the arrival of our forces. The fleet must make Chapeau-Rouge by nine o'clock in the evening, when they cannot be easily seen, and from thence push into the bay, that all the men may be landed before midnight. The troops, divided into four companies, are to scale the walls at different points, and to attack the Grand Battery. The formation of these companies will take up at least two hours' time, and the march another two hours; so that it will be four in the morning before the attack can be commenced. This will be a late hour, so that the fleet must arrive punctually, or all may fail."² If success depended on such conditions, how dubious was the prospect! But Fortune sometimes smiles even upon novices in war.

¹ Barry, iii. 141. ² Shirley to Wentworth, in Belknap's N. H., ii. 209.

On the 1st of May a detachment of four hundred men, commanded by Colonel William Vaughan, of New Hampshire, landed and marched to the north-east part of the harbor, setting fire to the large naval houses on the way. As the huge black clouds of smoke rolled above the Grand Battery, the garrison, struck with a panic, spiked their guns and fled in the darkness of night. Early in the morning Colonel Vaughan took possession of the battery, and sent for reinforcements. Shortly afterwards Colonel Bradstreet, with fresh troops, arrived. In vain did the French seek to expel the invaders. At sundown six companies were quartered in the battery, and throughout the whole night Major Seth Pomeroy, of Northampton, a gunsmith by trade, and his fellow smiths, were employed to drill the cannon which the enemy had spiked. It was no easy task; and while engaged in it, Pomeroy became convinced of the stupendous magnitude of the enterprise in hand. "Louisburg," he wrote home to his wife, "is an exceedingly strong place, and seems impregnable. It looks as if our campaign would last long; but I am willing to stay till God's time comes to deliver the city into our hands." From the 2d to the middle of May preparations for the siege were going on. In the mean time councils of war were held; and a summons to surrender was sent to Duchambon, the commandant at Louisburg. Affairs, however, "proceeded in a random manner. The men knew little of strict discipline; they had no fixed encampment; destitute of tents to keep off the fogs and dews, their lodgings were turf and brush houses, their bed was the earth — dangerous resting-places for those of the people unacquainted with lying in the woods. Yet the weather was fair, and the atmosphere, usually thick with palpable fogs, was, during the whole siege, singularly dry." ¹

¹ Bancroft, iii. 461.

On the 19th, the *Vigilant*, a French ship of sixty-four guns, carrying a supply of military goods from Brest to Louisburg, encountered the *Mermaid*, belonging to Commodore Warren's fleet. The latter, standing off in the fog, made sail and fled towards the squadron, pursued by the *Vigilant*. Fire opened on every side, but the French captain, the Marquis de Maisonforte, refused to surrender. The battle was terrific, and lasted for seven hours; the *Vigilant* lost all of her rigging, her rudder was broken, and great numbers of her crew were either wounded or slain. On the 24th, Commodore Warren proposed that "sixteen hundred men should be embarked, and that all his Majesty's ships, and the provincial cruisers except two, with the captured ship *Vigilant* and the schooners and transports, should enter the harbor and attack the town and batteries with the utmost vigor, while the marines, under Captain James McDonald, were to be landed, and, sustained by the rest of the troops, were to make an attack on shore." This plan, however, was not approved by the general of the land forces, who had other methods of his own to be pursued. Fascine batteries were erected at stated distances from the West Gate, and a breaching battery was reared at night within two hundred and fifty yards of the walls. Amid the roar of a continual bombardment, the garrison made sorties by land and sea; fifteen hundred of the Americans were either lying sick or wounded, six hundred were kept out in the country watching for Indians, and two hundred had perished in an attempt to seize the Island Battery.

Early in June a battery, containing three embrasures facing the Island Battery and six facing the sea, was completed near the light-house; and Pepperell consented that six hundred men should be sent on board the *Vigilant*, and five hundred

on board the other ships. A general attack by land and sea was then concerted,—Warren was to enter the harbor with his squadron, and Pepperell was to open all his batteries upon the town; but before such a plan could be put into execution, the desponding Duchambon, satisfied that it was useless to contend longer, sent out a flag of truce, and offered to surrender the fortress, “on condition that his troops, some sixteen hundred in number, should be permitted to retain their arms and colors.” The proposition was accepted; and thus, on the 16th of June, 1745, Louisburg, styled the “Dunkirk of America,” was formally surrendered to the Americans. As, on the following day, the troops entered the fortress and beheld with awe its massive strength, “Surely,” said they, “God has gone out of the way of his common providence, in a remarkable and almost miraculous manner, to incline the hearts of the French to give up and deliver this strong city into our hands.” The capture of Louisburg “filled Europe with astonishment and America with joy.” The batteries of London Tower fired salutes; and, in recognition of their services, King George II. made Pepperell a baronet, and Warren a rear-admiral. “That a colony like Massachusetts, at that time far from being rich or populous, should display such remarkable military spirit and enterprise, aided only by the smaller province of New Hampshire; that they should equip both land and sea forces to attack a redoubtable fortress, called by British officers impregnable, and on which the French crown had expended immense sums; that four thousand rustic militia, whose officers were as inexperienced in war as their men, although supported by naval forces, should conquer the regular troops of the greatest military power of the age, and wrest from their hands a place of unusual strength,—all appear little

short of a miracle.”¹ “The capture of Louisburg,” wrote Smollet, “was the foremost achievement of the war of 1745.” And one of the actors in the scene declared that “in all the histories he had read, he never met with an instance of so bold and presumptuous an attempt.”

Flattered by their brilliant success, the Americans now conceived the project of the conquest of Canada. The governors of all the colonies as far south as Virginia were ordered by the Duke of New Castle, then secretary of state, to raise companies of men and to await future orders. England promised to send over eight battalions, under the command of Lieutenant General St. Clair, with a squadron commanded by Rear Admiral Warren. These and the New England forces were to rendezvous at Louisburg, and from thence to proceed to Quebec. The southern troops were to assemble at Albany, and from thence to march to Montreal.

Meanwhile the French, inflamed by their recent disaster, were planning the recovery of Louisburg and the destruction of Boston. In 1746 an Armada, a huge fleet consisting of seventy sail, and commanded by the Duke d’Anville, left the harbor of Brest, to “conquer the British North American coast from Virginia to Newfoundland.” Unparalleled and disastrous storms proved more terrible than the enemy’s fire; and when, in September, D’Anville reached Halifax, he could boast of only two ships of the line and a few transports. Suddenly he was removed by death. A few days later the vice-admiral committed suicide, the men perished of disease by hundreds, and what remained of the fleet hastily retired from American waters. After this disastrous failure, La Jonquière, with sixteen men-of-war and twenty-eight other

¹ Murdock, *Hist. of Nova Scotia*. The siege is minutely described in Brown’s *Hist. of Cape Breton*, 168–248.

vessels, was sent from France on the same mission. Off Cape Finisterre he was attacked by the fleets of Anson and Warren, and was signally defeated. From this time onward the American colonies suffered only on the frontier. The expedition against Quebec was deferred; Fort Massachusetts, in Williamstown, — the post nearest to Crown Point, — long known “as the Thermopylæ of America,” was attacked by de Vaudreuil, and surrendered only when every grain of powder was exhausted. In 1748 the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle put an end to the war. Those who took no part in framing this treaty suffered the most. The peace was, in fact, a mere truce, forced on the contending powers by sheer exhaustion, and both parties were agreed simply to restore their conquests. On these terms Louisburg and Cape Breton were restored to France, and thus, “after four years of warfare in all parts of the world, after all the waste of blood and treasure, the war ended just where it began.”

About this time a serious tumult occurred in Boston. A number of sailors having deserted from the squadron at Nantasket, Commodore Knowles sent boats to the town the next morning and seized several of the seamen belonging to the vessels in port, “impressing some ship’s carpenters’ apprentices and laboring landsmen.” This outrage aroused the indignation of the people, and a mob was formed. About dusk, several thousand men assembled in King Street, below the town-house, where the General Court was in session. All attempts to appease the animosity of the crowd proved fruitless; and even Pepperell, “with all his personal popularity, was equally unsuccessful in stilling the tumult.” On the following day the troops were ordered under arms; the governor, fearful of his safety, withdrew to the castle; and Commodore Knowles was requested to propose some method

of conciliation. The only method which he would accede to was to bombard the town. On the 19th of November, the court, who had hitherto withheld their interference, resolved "to stand by, and support with their lives and estates, his excellency the governor and the executive part of the government, and to exert themselves, by all ways and means possible, in reducing such grievances as his Majesty's subjects have been and are under." This and other resolves quieted the excitement, and on the 20th the governor was conducted back to his residence with great parade. The commodore freed the seamen whom he had impressed, and shortly afterwards took his departure.

From this time onward the province continued to prosper. In 1748 the population somewhat exceeded two hundred thousand souls; that of Boston alone was upward of twenty thousand. In all the counties there were one hundred and forty towns,—nearly double the number at the grant of William and Mary. The commercial wealth was, also, steadily increasing. The value of the imports from Great Britain to America, from 1738 to 1748, amounted, in the aggregate, to more than thirty millions of dollars, or about seven and a half millions sterling. It may be said, finally, that the province had increased in wisdom; that its experience at the hands of the mother country was not forgotten; and that already many honestly believed that the same old drums that beat at the fall of Louisburg would soon be required to rally American patriotism in defence of God-given rights and liberties.

CHAPTER X.

THE FRENCH AND INDIAN WAR.

THE peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, in 1748, which was forced on the contending powers by sheer exhaustion, was more a truce than a league. France was dreaming of far wider schemes for the humiliation of England; and her aims spread far beyond Europe. In America, she not only claimed the valleys of the St. Lawrence and the Mississippi, but forbade the English colonists to cross the Alleghanies, and planted Fort Duquesne on the waters of the Ohio. At the same time England was looking forward to the day when she should be able to expel the French from North America, supply the farthest wigwam from her workshops, and assume absolute sway from the Atlantic to the Pacific. For the purpose of frustrating the plans of France, a company, chiefly of Virginians, was formed, and, in 1749, settlements were projected on the banks of the Ohio. By the terms of the treaty of 1748, the bounds of the two nations were to remain the same as before the war; but, for a quarter of a century, these bounds had been in dispute. Measures were taken, in 1750, for the adjustment of these bounds, and commissioners were appointed. Nearly two years were spent in idle conference, and no satisfactory result was reached.

Meanwhile a fleet, under Edward Cornwallis, arrived in American waters, and established an English settlement near the harbor of Chebucto, which received the name of Halifax,

in honor of the Earl of Halifax. Thus sprang into existence the first town of English origin east of the Penobscot. Before the winter of 1749 had closed, nearly three hundred houses were covered in. Shortly afterwards a blockhouse was raised at Minas, now Lower Horton, and a fort was built at Pesaquid, now Windsor, to protect the communications with Halifax. These posts, with Annapolis on the Bay of Fundy, secured the peninsula.¹

Governor Shirley, who had won renown at Louisburg, was now desirous of gathering fresh laurels on the field of action. To him it seemed, since the failure of the commission, that war between England and France was inevitable; and he himself was quite urgent that it should commence speedily. Should hostilities open, he felt sure that he would be promoted at once to the charge of a regiment, if not made a general officer. Both at home, and in his despatches to England, he urged the necessity of repelling the designs of the French, and of extending the territory of Massachusetts to the eastward. In 1752 hostilities began in the south. In the following year Governor Dinwiddie, of Virginia, his attention being attracted by supposed encroachments of the French, and by their seeming efforts to connect the Lakes with the Ohio by a line of posts, sent a letter to St. Pierre, the commanding officer on the Ohio, requiring him to withdraw from the English dominions. George Washington, then just twenty-two years of age, was commissioned to be the bearer of this demand. But little did he foresee the consequences which were to result from this movement, or dream of the honors which the future had in store for him.

It was late in the spring when Washington, commanding

¹ Haliburton, *Nova Scot.* i. 136-142. Bancroft, iv. 44-46.

a small body of troops, began his line of march towards the position of the enemy. The English, however, were but a handful compared to their opponents; and, in July, after several futile attempts to dislodge the French, the situation of Washington became perilous. His troops were almost destitute of provisions, and the ground which he occupied was ill adapted to military purposes. Completely hemmed in on every side, Washington was forced to sign articles of capitulation, by which Fort Necessity was surrendered to the enemy, and he and his troops were permitted to return without molestation into the inhabited parts of Virginia. Thus the French remained possessed of the banks of the Ohio; and the frontiers were again exposed to their ravages, and those of their Indian allies.¹

On the 19th of June, 1754, a memorable congress of commissioners from every colony north of the Potomac assembled at Albany. The delegates convened for the purpose of concerting measures of defence, and of treating with the Six Nations, whose alliance it was important to secure. America had never before witnessed so venerable a conference; and every voice declared a union of the colonies to be absolutely necessary. "A voluntary union," wrote Franklin, "entered into by the colonies themselves, would be preferable to one imposed by Parliament; for it would be, perhaps, not much more difficult to procure, and more easy to alter and improve, as circumstances should require and experience direct." The first day of the congress was spent in organizing, and settling preliminary business. The representatives of the Six Nations assembled tardily, and, although negotiations were carried on at intervals, the "chain of friendship" was thoroughly wrought. On the 24th, a committee, composed

¹ Marshall's Washington, i. 2-6.

of Thomas Hutchinson of Massachusetts, Theodore Atkinson of New Hampshire, Stephen Hopkins of Rhode Island, William Pitkin of Connecticut, Benjamin Franklin of Pennsylvania, William Smith of New York, and Benjamin Tasker of Maryland, all of them distinguished men, with eighteen others less famous, was appointed "to prepare and receive plans or schemes for the union of the colonies, and to digest them into one general plan for the inspection of this board."¹ Four days later "hints of a scheme" were presented, and these "hints" were debated for several days. On the 10th of July, Franklin "reported the draught in a new form," which, after a short debate, was adopted.

By the terms of this plan, "the local constitutions were recognized. The representatives of the people of each colony, in their own assembly, were to choose, every three years, members to form a Grand Council; the general government was prohibited from impressing men without the consent of the local legislature; any colony, on an emergency, might defend itself; and the particular military as well as civil establishments in each colony were to remain in their present state, 'the general constitution notwithstanding;' with this proviso, however: 'except in the particulars wherein a change might be directed' by the contemplated act of Parliament. The union element was embodied in a Grand Council, to meet once a year. It was to have the power to choose a speaker, and was not to be dissolved, prorogued, or continued in session longer than six weeks, without its own consent, or the special command of the crown. It was to be empowered to make treaties with the Indians, regulate trade with them, buy lands of them for the crown, and authorize new settlements; and for these

¹ Doc. Hist. of N. Y., ii. 564.

purposes to make laws; to levy duties, imposts, or taxes; to nominate all civil officers who were to act under the constitution, and to approve of all military officers; to appoint a general treasurer, and a special treasurer in each government, and to have a joint voice in the expenditure of the moneys raised; to enlist and pay soldiers and build forts. The laws were not to be repugnant to those of England, but as near as possible to be agreeable to them; and they were to be submitted to the king, and if not disapproved within three years, to remain in force. The executive power was to be vested in a president-general, appointed and supported by the crown. He was to nominate military officers; commission all officers, manage, with the advice of the Grand Council, Indian affairs; have a negative on all the acts of the Grand Council; and to carry their acts into execution.”¹

Such was the confederacy of 1754, framed just twenty-two years before the Declaration of Independence, and opposed by no one on the royalist side except De Lancey of New York, and approved at the time by every member of the congress save him. A copy of the plan was sent to each one of the colonies which had not appointed commissioners, and was then earnestly recommended to the people. On the 11th of July the congress adjourned. There was nothing binding in the action of the congress until confirmed by the assemblies. Strange as it may seem, the plan was negatived by every assembly before which it was brought, and public opinion declared loudly against it. In England it met with a similar fate; and reflecting men in the Old

¹ Frothingham, *Rise of the Republic*, 142, — a work invaluable to every American citizen.

World "dreaded American union as the keystone of independence."¹

In the month of October, Franklin visited Boston, the home of his childhood. Shortly after his return to Philadelphia, he carried on a private correspondence with Governor Shirley relative to the plan of a union of the colonies. In these letters Franklin, "without opposing a more intimate union with Great Britain by representatives in Parliament, provided a reasonable number was allowed, at the same time urged a repeal of the acts restraining the trade and manufactures of the colonies, as unjust and impolitic."

Meanwhile the French were encroaching within the limits of Massachusetts; and in March, 1754, the governor urged the General Court to provide for the raising of a small army. A force of eight hundred men was mustered into service, and was ordered to march to the Kennebec. About three quarters of a mile below Taconnet Falls, a fort, called Fort Halifax, was built. On the present site of Augusta, another fort was erected, to which was given the name of Fort Western. Projects for the war were now daily considered. Governor Shirley was as busy as ever, and seemed never to flag. In the spring of 1755 the squadron of Commodore Keppel anchored in Hampton Road; and about the middle of April, by the orders of Braddock, who had just been appointed commander-in-chief of the colonial forces, Shirley and the other governors held a conference with him at Alexandria. At this conference Braddock stated that he had been ordered to conduct in person an expedition to Fort Duquesne; he proposed that the regiments of Shirley and Pepperell should march to Lake Ontario, the troops of

¹ Hutchinson, iii. 28. Smith's Hist. of N. Y., ii. 180, seq.

General Johnson to Crown Point, and the New England troops should sail to the eastward to reduce the French settlements in Nova Scotia.

In June, twenty-two hundred men, under the command of General Braddock, left Fort Cumberland. On the 8th of July, the advance body, after a long and tedious march through a trackless waste, reached the junction of the Youghiogeny and Monongahela, twelve miles distant from Fort Duquesne. Fearful of the approach of the invaders, a band of two hundred and fifty French and Canadians and six hundred and fifty Indians hastened to a spot previously selected for an ambushade. On the 9th, the two armies met, and a desperate combat ensued. The English were mown down like grass. Of eighty-six officers, twenty-six were killed and thirty-seven were wounded; while of the men, more than half were completely disabled. Braddock himself, after five horses had been shot from under him, fell mortally wounded. Every attempt to rally the troops was vain. The rout was complete; and as quickly as possible, such of the army as survived, retreated from the scene of a "most scandalous" defeat.¹

Shirley was on his way to Oswego when he received the tidings of this frightful disaster. By the death of Braddock, the chief command of the forces devolved upon him, and he was now in the height of his glory. There was a fort at Oswego; and it was here that he purposed to concentrate his forces previous to proceeding to Niagara. Although the troops were disheartened by the defeat of Braddock, Shirley managed to urge them forward, and on the 21st of August he arrived at Oswego. Here weeks were passed in building boats and in the construction of a new fort. The

¹ Sargent's Braddock's Exped., 132, seq. Bancroft, iv. 184-192.

18th of September was set as the day for embarking the troops on Lake Ontario; but a storm, followed by head winds, rendered this enterprise unsuccessful. On the 24th of October, Shirley returned to Massachusetts, leaving Lieutenant Colonel Mercer in command at Oswego.

Meanwhile General William Johnson, of New York, had been placed in command of the expedition, which was to proceed to Crown Point for the reduction of Fort Frederick. His commission had been signed by Governors Shirley and De Lancey; and the army under his charge consisted of New England militia, chiefly from Connecticut and Massachusetts. About the middle of July, Major General Lyman, with a detachment of one thousand men, advanced to a point near the head springs of the Sorel, about sixty miles from Albany, and in the following month had built Fort Edward. Johnson and the artillery train arrived at the fort on the 14th of August. Having held a council of war, he advanced, with the main body of the army, across the portage of twelve miles, to the southern end of Lake George, which the French called St. Sacrament. Here he pitched a camp for five thousand men; and here, while his men were reposing in idleness, and admiring the beautiful and romantic, the news came that a party of French and Indians had been discovered at Ticonderoga. Johnson proposed to sail thither, and despatched a letter to Shirley requesting boats.

Very soon, England and America were both to unite in rejoicing over a signal victory. In May, 1755, a French fleet of twenty-two ships of the line, besides frigates and transports, had sailed from Brest, under the command of the veteran Baron Dieskau. About the middle of June a thousand of the troops had been landed at Louisburg, while the remainder, under De Vaudreuil and Dieskau, arrived at Quebec.

"Boldness wins," was Dieskau's maxim; and his first project was, by the advice of De Vaudreuil, to seize the fort at Oswego. The movements of Johnson, however, induced him to alter his plans, and instead, to cross Lake Champlain, and gain the rear of the English army. Early in September, Johnson learned of the approach of the enemy, and having detached a thousand English and two hundred Indians, and intrusted the command to Ephraim Williams, a Massachusetts colonel, and to Israel Putnam of Connecticut, he ordered them to march to the relief of Fort Edward. Johnson, with four thousand able-bodied men, still remained in the encampment on Lake George.

On the 8th of September, about an hour after the departure of Williams, loud firing betokened the nearness of the enemy; and it soon transpired that the small detachment had been surprised, and forced to retreat, with the loss of their commander. Upon a sudden, the troops under Dieskau came in sight. The camp was not yet fortified; but "when the noise of musketry was heard, two or three cannon were hastily brought up from the margin of the lake, and trees were felled for a breastwork."¹ It had been Dieskau's plan to rush suddenly into the camp; but the Iroquois "took possession of a rising ground, and stood inactive." The Abenakis did likewise. Whereupon the regulars, finding themselves deserted by the Canadians and their savage allies, skulked behind trees and opened a brisk fire. The battle began just before noon, and for five hours the New England militia kept up the "most violent fire that had as yet been known in America." Dieskau, thrice wounded, was made a prisoner. Of the Americans, two hundred and sixteen were killed, including the gallant Tit-

¹ Bancroft, iv. 210.

comb, who had bravely fought at the siege of Louisburg, and ninety-six were wounded. The loss of the French was much greater. For his services in this engagement, Johnson received the honors of knighthood from the king, and a gratuity of five thousand pounds. Such was the feeling in England, that the House of Lords praised the colonists as "brave and faithful," while the ministry exulted in the defeat and death of Dieskau.¹

Another project remains to be noticed, — the expedition against Nova Scotia, — which, though proposed by Massachusetts, was undertaken at the expense of the crown. The army consisted of two battalions, the first under the command of John Winslow, of Marshfield, the second under the command of Colonel Scott. Lieutenant Colonel Monckton, of Nova Scotia, was appointed by the king to take charge of the expedition. On the 20th of May the troops from Massachusetts embarked, and arrived at Annapolis towards the last of the month. On the 1st of June the whole fleet, numbering forty-one vessels, anchored about five miles from Fort Lawrence, near the site of Beaubassin. On the 2d the troops landed, and on the 3d a council of war was held, and the siege of Beau Sejour was resolved upon. In the mean time from twelve to fifteen hundred Acadians, by the influence of the Abbe Laloutre, had gathered around Beau Sejour.

On the 4th the Anglo-American troops left their camps, on the glacia of the St. Lawrence, and began the march towards Beau Sejour. The route lay over a marsh, and the progress of the army was slow and guarded. Four days later General Winslow attacked the fort. The siege was continued until the 16th, when the enemy surrendered,

¹ Doc. Hist. of N. Y., ii. 683, seq. Mortimer, Hist. of Eng., i. 511, seq. Bancroft, Barry, &c.

the "garrison being allowed to march out with the honors of war, and to be transported to Louisburg, with their effects, at the expense of Great Britain, on condition of remaining neutral for the space of six months." Laloutre escaped to Quebec, and, being censured, was afterwards remanded to France. A few days later, the fort at Gaspereaux, on Bay Verte, surrendered on the same terms. The question now arose, What shall be done with the Acadians? For over two hundred years they had dwelt in the country; by the treaty of Utrecht they had been brought under the dominion of Great Britain; and for nearly forty years they had been neglected by the latter. This frugal, industrious, and benevolent people were now spoken of as the "neutral French." Although they were peaceful and honest, the anomalous position of these alien subjects was a source of vexation to the English power. At a council held at Halifax, in 1755, it was determined that the Acadians must either take an unconditional oath of allegiance to Great Britain or leave the country. Almost unanimously they refused to take the oath, but declared that "not the want of arms, but their conscience, should engage them not to revolt." On the 11th of August it was resolved, at a council, that the people should be driven from their homes, and scattered, as exiles, over the whole breadth of the continent. Always oppressed by the English, they were now treated as captives.¹

A general proclamation was now issued, ordering all the males of the settlements, "both old and young men, as well as all the lads of ten years of age," to assemble at the church at Grand Pré to hear "his Majesty's orders." On the 5th of September four hundred and eighteen unarmed men obeyed. "You are convened together," said General Wins-

¹ Haliburton, *Nova Scotia*, i. 163, seq. Minot, i. 122.

low, "to manifest to you his Majesty's final resolution to the French inhabitants of this his province. Your lands and tenements, cattle of all kinds, and live stock of all sorts, are forfeited to the crown, and you yourselves are to be removed from this his province. I am, through his Majesty's goodness, directed to allow you liberty to carry off your money and household goods, as many as you can, without discommoding the vessels you go in. I hope that, in whatever part of the world you may fall, you may be faithful subjects, a peaceable and happy people. Meanwhile you are the king's prisoners, and will remain in security under the inspection and direction of the troops I have the honor to command."¹ On the 10th of September the inhabitants of Grand Pré—in all one thousand nine hundred and twenty-three souls—assembled together for the last time. The prisoners were drawn up in the church, six deep, and all the young men were ordered to embark first on board the vessels. Next marched the fathers, and lastly, mothers and wives and little ones were told that they must wait until the arrival of fresh transports. In December the last scene in the cruel drama had been performed,—the last Acadian had departed. "It is some consolation," says a historian, "to know that very many of the exiles returned within a few years to their native land, and though not restored to their native farms, they became an integral and respected portion of the population, displaying, under all changes, those simple virtues that they had inherited,—the same modest, humble, and peaceable disposition that had been their early attributes."² The Acadians were dispersed

¹ Winslow's Journal, 178, 179.

² Murdock, *Hist of Nova Scotia*. Upon the fate of one of the families of Grand Pré, Longfellow founded his poem of "Evangeline." The Acadians live to us now chiefly in history,

from New Hampshire to Georgia. In a land of strangers, they gradually dropped out of the living, leaving no descendants, and to posterity — only a name.

Such were the events of the campaign of 1755. Although blood had been wasted, and a whole people scattered to the four winds, not yet had war been formally declared either by England or France. In the spring of 1756, General Johnson, having built Fort William Henry on Lake George, and garrisoned it with sixteen hundred men, returned home. These, with the garrison of seven hundred men at Oswego, constituted the entire strength of the English upon the western frontier. The defences of the French included Fort Frontenac, at Cataragui, near Lake Ontario, a fort at Crown Point, with works at Ticonderoga, and another at the Falls of Niagara, called Niagara. Their posts extended as far west as the Mississippi, and as far south as the Gulf of Mexico.

Governor Shirley, as has been said, returned to Massachusetts in the autumn of 1755. At Albany, where he lingered for a few days, he received his commission as commander-in-chief "of all his Majesty's forces, in North America;" and by his orders, a congress of governors and field officers was held at New York in December of that year. At this conference, Shirley remarked that "the French settlements at the mouth of the Mississippi furnished these northern garrisons neither with provisions nor stores, being not only at two thousand miles' distance from any of them, but embarrassed with insuperable difficulties by a laborious navigation against a rapid stream;" and hence, that, "could the French be dislodged from Frontenac and the little fort at Toronto, and their entrance into Lake Ontario obstructed, all their other forts and settlements on the Ohio and the

western lakes were deprived of their support from Canada, and must ere long be evacuated.”¹ Shirley then proposed an early attack upon Fort Frontenac, Toronto, and Niagara; and that Quebec should be menaced by way of the Kennebec and the Chaudière. His colleagues thought all efforts vain without the interference and assistance of Parliament. “If they expect success at home,” wrote Gage, “acts of Parliament must be made to tax the provinces, in proportion to what each is able to bear; to make one common fund, and pursue one uniform plan for America.”²

Shirley now petitioned the legislature of the province for men and munitions to carry out his plans. After some hesitation, resolutions were passed “for raising three thousand men, in order to remove the encroachments of the French from his Majesty’s territories at or near Crown Point, in humble confidence that his Majesty will hereafter be graciously pleased to give orders for defraying the expense of this expedition, and for establishing such garrisons as may be needed in order to maintain the possession of the country.” At the suggestion, offered indirectly by the legislature, Shirley conferred the chief command upon General Winslow, “an officer of high standing and distinguished abilities.” In the mean time Parliament, not indifferent to the projects under consideration, granted one hundred and fifteen thousand pounds, and forwarded the amount to America, where it was divided among the troops who had served the previous year. Another proceeding of Parliament was unlooked for; and it was, to the governor of Massachusetts, a very great surprise. It was affirmed that his services in behalf of the crown were over-estimated, that he was not so efficient a soldier as he thought himself, and that his eagerness to for-

¹ 1 M. H. Coll., vii. 132.

² Bancroft, iv. 222.

ward his own interests had raised up for him many enemies. At the instance of Lord Cumberland and Fox, Shirley was displaced, and the Earl of Loudoun was appointed governor of Virginia and commander-in-chief of the army. It was in the summer of 1756, and Shirley was in New York when he received tidings of his recall. Pending the arrival of Loudoun, the charge of the army devolved on General Abercrombie.

In July, General Abercrombie asked Winslow, who was on the point of leaving Albany with about seven thousand men, "what effect the junction of his Majesty's forces would have with the provincials, if ordered to join them in their intended expedition?" Winslow replied, that "he should be extremely pleased if such a junction could be made, and that he was under the immediate command of the commander-in-chief; but apprehended that, if by this junction the provincial officers were to lose their command, as the men were raised immediately under them by the several governments, it would cause almost an universal discontent, if not desertion." After the arrival of Lord Loudoun, the same question was asked, and the same answer was returned; but, finally, it was agreed that the troops of the several provinces should conduct their operations separately.

Affairs at Oswego were not in a prosperous condition. The garrison was short of provisions, and word had been brought in that a French army of twelve hundred men was preparing to attack the place. On the 12th of August, Oswego was invested, and three days later it fell. The forts were razed. "This is the banner of victory," was the inscription upon the cross planted by the missionaries on the vacant site. "Oswego is lost — lost, perhaps, forever,"

exclaimed the English. "Would to God this was all," wrote Winslow, "and we had nothing more to apprehend! The French can now, with the utmost facility, secure the inland country, and confine us to the very brinks of the ocean; a free communication is opened between Canada and Louisiana, and all our intercourse with the Indians totally rescinded."¹ Winslow was ordered to fortify his own camp at Fort William Henry, Lyman to remain at Fort Edward, Webb to post himself at the Great Carrying Place, and Johnson to tarry at the German Flats. Before the year closed a change took place in the British ministry, and William Pitt, "the great Commoner," assumed the reins which had fallen from the hands of the Duke of New Castle. From this moment the Americans grew more hopeful, and "joy revived in the countenance of every individual." Throughout the whole land the cry arose, "Canada, Canada must be destroyed, or we are undone! We have wasted our strength in lopping the branches; the axe must be laid to the root of the tree."²

After the departure of Shirley, the chief command in Massachusetts rested with Spencer Phips, the lieutenant governor. He, however, refused to act in the present emergency; and a commission, consisting of Thomas Hutchinson, William Brattle, Thomas Hubbard, John Otis, and Samuel Welles, was appointed to represent the province at a military council held in Boston, in January, 1757. A levy of troops, amounting to four thousand men, was called for from New England, — all of whom were to be mustered into service before the last of March. In May tidings were received from England that the king had appointed Thomas Pownall, Esq., governor of Massachusetts. He arrived in Boston in August, and was formally received by the people.

¹ Winslow's Journal.

² Barry, ii. 219.

During the winter of 1756-57 the French continued their preparations for a new campaign. By the orders of Montcalm, a detachment of French and Indians, under Vaudreuil and De Longueuil, was sent for the reduction of Fort William Henry. Several attempts were made to capture the place, but the garrison was on the watch, and the enemy "could only burn the English batteaux and sloops, the store-houses, and the huts of the rangers within their pickets." Meanwhile the English were getting ready for another expedition. In June, Lord Loudoun left New York with six thousand men, in a fleet of four war ships and seventy transports, and reached Halifax towards the close of the month. Other forces had departed thither before him; and the whole armament at the disposal of the British leaders comprised nineteen ships of the line and frigates, together with a body of ten thousand men. Instead of pushing forward the attack on Louisburg, which had been proposed, Loudoun wasted his time "in making sham-fights and planting cabbages." The French were re-enforced; and Loudoun, deeming a venture useless, abandoned the expedition and returned to New York.¹

During this dallying in the north, Montcalm had concentrated all his forces at Montreal, previous to making another attack upon Fort William Henry. On the 2d of August the savage allies of the French dashed openly upon the waters of Lake George, landed at the southern extremity, and took the English almost by surprise. Montcalm disembarked shortly afterwards, and at once began the attack. Within the fort was a garrison of less than five

¹ Warburton, *Conq. of Canada*, ii. 59-62. Loudoun lacked decision. "He is like St. George upon the sign-posts," said Franklin, "always on horse-back, but never advances."

hundred men, under the command of the brave Colonel *Monro*. On the 4th, the French summoned *Monro* to surrender. "Only at the last extremity," was the gallant reply; and not until the evening of the 9th, when half of the cannon were burst and all the ammunition was exhausted, did *Monro* hang out a flag of truce. General *Webb*, at Fort Edward, had a force of four thousand, and might have marched to the relief of *Monro* if he had been so disposed. Although cognizant of the scheme of the enemy, he seems to have viewed the preparations of *Montcalm* "with an indifference and security bordering on infatuation. It is creditably reported that he had private intelligence of all the doings and motions of the French general, yet, either despising his strength or discrediting the information, he neglected collecting the militia in time, and the fortress fell."¹ After the surrender of the fort, as many of the English as escaped butchery at the hands of the Indians fled to Fort Edward.

By this disaster the English lost control of the basin of the Ohio. Already had they been driven from the basin of the St. Lawrence; and many began to entertain the opinion that so long as the war was conducted by British commanders, the French would continue to be victorious. "O, that we had nothing to do with Great Britain forever!" was the impassioned wish of John Adams. But a brighter day was soon to dawn. In June, 1757, Pitt, having been reappointed to his office, exerted himself diligently to retrieve the fortunes of England. While his constituents were bewailing ill luck both at home and abroad, "I am sure," said Pitt to the Duke of Devonshire, "I can save this country, and no

¹ Mortimer, *Hist. Eng.*, iii. 567. Webb was afterwards censured for his cowardice.

one else can.”¹ Reviewing the reverses of 1757, he remarked, “Nothing has been done; nothing attempted. We have lost all the waters; we have not a boat on the lakes. Every door is open to France.”² Pitt now began to bring about a reform. In the spring of 1758 Lord Loudoun was recalled, and “added one more to the military officers who advised the magisterial exercise of British authority, and voted in Parliament to sustain it by fire and sword.” A letter was also forwarded to Massachusetts, recommending, in the strongest terms, the enlistment of fresh troops, and pledging a proper compensation by Parliament; at the same time the king ordered that “every provincial officer, of no higher rank than colonel, should have equal command with the British, according to the date of their commissions.”

Thus encouraged, the legislature voted to raise seven thousand men. The legislatures of the other provinces voted likewise; and before the season closed, no less than twenty thousand fresh troops were mustered into service. The English were now bent upon the reduction of Canada; for whose safety the French trembled, while famine was staring them in the face. “I shudder when I think of provisions,” said Montcalm. “The famine is very great.” Two months later he wrote, “For all our success, New France needs peace, or sooner or later it must fall, such are the numbers of the English, such the difficulty of our receiving supplies.”³ Three projects were planned by the British ministry: the reduction of Louisburg, by the combined forces of Sir Jeffrey Amherst, James Wolfe, and Admiral Boscawen; the scouring of the Ohio valley, by Joseph Forbes, and the expedition under the command of Abercrombie and Lord Howe against Ticonderoga and Crown Point.

¹ Mahon, *Hist. Eng.*, i. 299.

² Pouchot's *Mems.*, i. 130, 131.

³ Bancroft, iv. 290.

In May, 1758, Amherst arrived at Halifax, with twenty-two ships of the line, fifteen frigates, and one hundred and twenty smaller vessels under Boscawen, and an army of twelve thousand men. Wolfe, who had fought at Dettingen and Fontenoy, and Cook, afterwards celebrated as the circumnavigator of the globe, also served in the expedition. On the 8th of June the troops effected a landing at Gabarus Bay, under the well-directed fire of the French, and pushed through the fatal surf of Freshwater Cove. After losing one hundred and ten men, the English carried the intrenchments at the point of the bayonet, and the French fell back on Louisburg. Without delay Wolfe's brigade took possession of the old Lighthouse Battery, and opened fire on the city. Five of the French frigates sank under the tremendous cannonade, and the harbor was left unguarded. In the mean time the heavy siege batteries were advanced rapidly, and poured in a crushing fire on the doomed city. At length, on the 26th of July, Louisburg was in ruins, and the fortress surrendered, with more than five thousand prisoners, two hundred and thirty-six pieces of artillery, and an immense amount of stores and supplies. The "Dunkirk of America" had fallen, and all England rang with praises of the victory.¹

Whilst this success was being achieved, General Forbes, with nearly seven thousand able-bodied men, was hastening his march against Fort Duquesne. In this expedition Colonel George Washington played a prominent part. As the troops drew near the fort, the garrison, about five hundred in number, set fire to the place, and proceeded down the Ohio in boats. Washington, with immense labor, succeeded in opening a way for the main body of the army, and upon

¹ Mante's *Hist. of the War*, 152, 153. Mortimer, iii. 603-604. Warburton, ii. 74-80.

the 25th of November he planted his banner upon the deserted ruins. In honor of the great statesman of England, the place was named Pittsburg.¹

The expedition against Ticonderoga and Crown Point proved a failure. In June an army of fifteen thousand men assembled on the banks of Lake George, and on the 5th of July the whole force, in upwards of a thousand boats, embarked for Ticonderoga. "The spectacle was gorgeous to behold; the armament stretching far down the lake, and moving on, with flashing oars and glittering weapons, to strains of music which rang shrilly from crags and rocks, or died away in mellowed strains among the distant mountains."² On the 6th, seven thousand men began a march through the woods, and, falling in with De Trépézée, at the head of three hundred men, a skirmish ensued, in which Lord Howe was the first to fall. Massachusetts voted a monument in honor of the gallant commander, which was placed in Westminster Abbey. On the 8th, the army continued the march. Montcalm beheld the discomfiture of his enemy, and prepared to meet them. A fierce battle ensued, in which two thousand of the English were either killed or wounded. The survivors, panic-stricken, did not pause in their retreat until "again far out on the bosom of Lake George." The reduction of Fort Frontenac, on the 28th, by Bradstreet, was only a partial atonement for the failure of Abercrombie.³

For the new year's campaign, Massachusetts raised seven thousand troops; and the other colonies, likewise, put forth their best efforts. The great object in view was the capture of Quebec. On the 1st of July, 1759, General Prideaux,

¹ Pouchot, i. 170-177. Marshall's Wash., i. 22-26. Sparks's Wash., ii. 271-327.

² Barry, ii. 231.

³ Pouchot, i. 134-159. Smith's New York, ii. 265.

with a strong army, embarked on Lake Ontario, and, on the 15th, invested Fort Niagara. By the death of Prideaux, the command devolved upon Sir William Johnson. On the 25th the garrison capitulated. Before the close of the month General Stanwix, from Pittsburg, had taken possession of the French posts as far as Erie. In the mean time General Amherst had landed an army of eleven thousand men near the site of Abercombie's former encampment on the banks of Lake George. On the 23d of July, Bourlamarque, the commandant at Ticonderoga, conscious of his weakness, secretly abandoned the fort, after spiking the guns, and set fire to the military stores. On the 1st of August, Crown Point also was forsaken by the French, who then intrenched themselves at Isle-aux-Noix, near the entrance to the Richelieu River, "the most vulnerable, and at the same time the most vital part of Canada."

Two months previous, a fleet under Sir Charles Saunders, and the army under General Wolfe, had arrived before Quebec. Pitt had resolved not merely to foil the ambition of Montcalm, but to destroy the French rule in America altogether; and in choosing Wolfe as a commander, he had discerned the genius and heroism which lay hidden beneath the awkward manner and the occasional gasconade of the young soldier of thirty-three. Wolfe's army numbered not far from eight thousand men; while the fleet of Saunders comprised twenty-two ships of the line, and as many frigates and armed vessels. No time was lost in perfecting the arrangements for the siege. On the 30th of June, Point Levi, opposite Quebec, and on the south shore of the St. Lawrence, was occupied by the English, and from this eminence heavy ordnance poured ruinous fire upon the city. On the 9th of July, Wolfe crossed the north channel, and

encamped upon the eastern bank of the Montmorenci, whence he continued to storm the citadel with frightful effect. On the 18th, in concert with Saunders, Wolfe reconnoitred the shore above the town as far as the St. Charles. July and August passed away, without delaying operations.

Early in September, Wolfe resolved to draw Montcalm into an open action. To be sure he had "the whole force of Canada to oppose, and by the nature of the river, the fleet could render no assistance." Having well secured his posts on the Isle of Orleans, and opposite Quebec, he moved his army down stream, and landed on the 13th, on the cove, "which now bears his name, where the bending promontories almost form a basin with a very narrow margin, over which the hill rises precipitously." From this position he resolved to surprise the city. It was an autumn evening when the general issued his last orders. As he passed from ship to ship, to make his final inspection, he repeated to his comrades the prophetic words from Gray's *Elegy* : —

"The boast of heraldry, the pomp of power,
And all that beauty, all that wealth e'er gave,
Await alike the inevitable hour;
The paths of glory lead but to the grave."

"I would prefer," said he, "being the author of that poem to the glory of beating the French to-morrow." But he knew that he lived under the eye of Pitt and of his country.

On the morning of the 13th of September, Wolfe with Murray and Monckton, and about half of his army, glided down with the tide, and stood ready for battle upon the Plains of Abraham. Montcalm, stationed behind his intrenchments on the other side of the St. Charles, beheld

with amazement the position of his enemy. "It can be but a small party," said he, "come to burn a few houses and retire." Later he exclaimed, "They have at last got to the weak side of this miserable garrison; we must give battle, and crush them before midday." About ten o'clock, the two armies stood face to face; and just before noon, the short but desperate conflict began. Wolfe and Montcalm both fell, mortally wounded. "Support me," said the former to an officer by his side; "let not my brave fellows see me drop." He was borne to the rear. "They run, they run!" remarked the officer. "Who run?" asked Wolfe. "The French give way everywhere." "What!" exclaimed the dying hero, "do they run already? Go, one of you, to Colonel Burton; bid him march Webb's regiment, with all speed, to Charles River, to cut off the fugitives. Now, God be praised, I die happy."

On another part of the field the brave and hopeful Montcalm was struggling with death. "How long shall I survive?" he asked of the surgeon. "Ten or twelve hours, perhaps less." "So much the better; I shall not live to see the surrender of Quebec." To De Ramsay, who commanded the garrison, and who asked his advice about defending the city, he replied, "To your keeping I commend the honor of France. As for me, I shall pass the night with God, and prepare myself for death." At five the next morning Montcalm expired. On the 17th of September, De Ramsay raised the white flag, and Quebec was surrendered. During the siege the English lost six hundred and sixty-four men, and the French lost nearly fifteen hundred.¹

"The smiles of fortune were turned to frowns." The

¹ Pouchot, *Mems.*, ii. 131-150. Mante, 171-189. Mortimer, iii. 655-663. Warburton, ii. 171-220. Bancroft, iv. 324-338. Barry, ii. 236-239.

fall of Montcalm, in the moment of his defeat, completed the victory, and the submission of Canada put an end to the dream of a French empire in America. In breaking through the line with which France had striven to check the westward advance of the English colonists, Pitt had unconsciously changed the history of the world. His support of Frederick and of Prussia was to lead in our own day to the creation of a United Germany. His conquest of Canada, by removing the enemy, whose dread knit the colonists to the mother country, and by flinging open to their energies in the days to come the boundless plains of the west, laid the foundation of the United States. Amherst closed the war, in the following year, by the reduction of Montreal; and on the 9th of September, the Marquis de Vaudreuil signed the capitulation which separated Canada from France forever. In 1763 peace was finally declared. To the Americans this conquest was the stepping-stone to the revolution; it trained up officers for the armies of Washington, and created soldiers for the defence of national freedom.

CHAPTER XI.

THE STAMP ACT.

CHARLES DAVENANT, an English dramatist, born in 1656, thus prophesied two centuries ago: "As the case now stands, we shall show that the colonies are a spring of wealth to this nation; that they work for us, that their treasure centres all here, and that the laws have tied them fast enough to us; so that it must be through our own fault and misgovernment if they become independent of England. Corrupt governors may hereafter provoke them to withdraw their obedience, and by supine negligence or upon mistaken measures we may let them grow, more especially New England, in naval strength and power, which, if suffered, we cannot expect to hold them long in our subjection. If, as some have proposed, we should think to build ships of war there, we may teach them an art which will cost us some blows to make them forget. Some such courses may, indeed, drive them, or put it into their heads, to erect themselves into independent commonwealths."¹ Many years before, Richard Hooker, the great light of English literature, had written, that "the lawful power of making laws to command whole political societies of men belongeth so properly unto the same entire societies, that for any prince or potentate, of what kind soever upon earth, to exercise the same of himself, and not either by express commission

¹ Discourses, pt. ii. 204-205.

immediately and personally received from God, or else authority received at first from their consent upon whose persons they impose laws, it is no better than mere tyranny.”¹ To the correctness of this doctrine the colonists readily subscribed; and believing that, as Englishmen and as men, they had rights which neither the king nor the Parliament could justifiably infringe, they now resolved to maintain the sanctity of these rights as a part of their own existence. England lost her colonies by her own mismanagement. A gigantic system of fraud and wrong was reared to such a height that the whole political fabric tottered under its weight,—and Revolution and Independence were the natural results.

The controversies with the crown, which had been waged under the administrations of Dudley, of Shute, of Burnet, and of Belcher, were continued under the administration of Shirley. This gentleman was a sworn defender of the royal prerogative, and was zealous in his oppression of the colonists. In 1749 he wrote to the Duke of Bedford, urging the erection of “fortresses, under the direction of the king’s engineers and officers,” and that “a tax for their maintenance should be laid by Parliament upon the colonies.” In this and in other ways he succeeded in poisoning the minds of the king’s councillors, and in inflaming them against British subjects in America. On the 3d of March, 1749, a bill was brought into Parliament, providing for the enforcement of all the king’s instructions in the colonies. By the foresight of wise men the bill was defeated. In the following year a committee in Parliament submitted a bill forbidding, “under a penalty of two hundred pounds, and declaring to be nuisances, the erection of mills for slitting or rolling iron,

¹ Ecclesiastical Polity, bk. viii.

or plating forges to work with a tilt-hammer, or furnaces for making steel." This bill also failed to pass. Meanwhile Shirley continued to enjoin the "necessity, not only of a Parliamentary union, but taxation;" and in July, 1755, it was resolved to "raise funds for American affairs by a stamp duty, and a duty on products of the West Indies imported into the continental colonies." Upon hearing of these proceedings, Massachusetts wrote to her agent in England, "Oppose everything that shall have the remotest tendency to raise a revenue in the plantations for any public uses or services of government."¹ It was not difficult to interpret the meaning of these words. If any apprehensions were entertained that the colonies would "in time throw off their dependency upon the mother country," Shirley was ready with his assurance that, "whilst his Majesty hath seven thousand troops kept up within them, with the Indians at command, it seems easy, provided his governors and principal officers are independent of the assemblies for their subsistence, and commonly vigilant, to prevent any step of that kind from being taken."² The signal was raised, and resolute lords were earnest to bring the people "into immediate subjection."

In January, 1757, the project "to introduce a stamp duty on vellum and paper," was considered. It was urged upon Pitt, who, however, "scorned to take an unjust and ungenerous advantage" of the colonies. This profession of the minister was exceedingly noble, and characteristic of the man; and the people of Massachusetts felt assured that so long as he remained in office their liberties and rights would be kept inviolate. The legislature of the province, in 1759, imposed, of its own accord, a stamp tax upon vellum and

¹ Gordon, *Am. Rev.*, i. 95.

² 1 M. H. Coll., vi. 129.

paper, and also a "tax on personal estate of thirteen shillings and fourpence on the pound income, and a poll tax of nineteen shillings on every male over sixteen." Governor Pownall, foreseeing the tendency of these measures, predicted the nearness of independence, and laid his complaints before the Board of Trade. The latter replied, "The dependence which the colony of Massachusetts ought to have upon the sovereignty of the crown stands on a very precarious footing; and unless some effectual remedy be applied at a proper time, it will be in great danger of being totally lost."¹

Having thus preferred his grievances, Governor Pownall was transferred to South Carolina; and Francis Bernard, "the most willing friend to the English church and to British authority," came from New Jersey to be the governor of Massachusetts. These continuous changes in the government planted distrust in the minds of the people. "These English," said they to one another, "will overturn everything. We must resist them, and that by force." In his first address to the legislature, Bernard gave the latter to understand that "they derived blessings from their subjection to Great Britain," and declared his intention to preserve the privileges secured by the charter. The legislature did not quite like the expression "subjection to Great Britain," and admitted only a "relation to Great Britain." At the same time the colonists professed loyalty to the English constitution. But such professions were not proof against the artful insinuations that their enemies were everywhere throwing out against them. "For all what you Americans say of your loyalty," remarked Charles Pratt, afterwards Earl of Camden, to Franklin, "I know you will one day throw off your dependence upon this country, and notwithstanding

¹ Bancroft, iv. 297.

your boasted affection to it, will set up for independence." "No such idea," replied Franklin, "is entertained in the minds of the Americans; and no such idea will ever enter their heads, unless you grossly abuse them." "Very true, that is one of the main causes I see will happen, and will produce the event."¹

While the work of abuse was going on, two political parties arose in the province,—the party of freedom and the party of prerogative. The former was the people's party; the latter embraced such of the wealthier class as hung upon the royal favor. James Otis was the leader of the people's party, and was the champion of freedom. He was born at Barnstable, in 1725, was graduated from Harvard College in 1743, and three years later began the practice of the law in Plymouth. In 1748 he removed to Boston, where "the brilliancy of his talents and his reputation for integrity won for him an enviable fame." He it was who, "by his eloquence in opposition to the royalists, set the province in a flame." Associated with him, and equally devoted to their country's cause, were the elder Otis, one of the most distinguished politicians of his day; Samuel Adams, "the father of the revolution," and a man "of steadfast integrity, exquisite humanity, genteel erudition, engaging manners, real as well as professed piety, and a universal good character;"² Oxenbridge Thacher, a lawyer of great merit, a man of sagacity and patriotism, respected for learning, ability, purity of life, and moderation; James Bowdoin, afterwards governor of Massachusetts; and Thomas Cushing, a calm, yet earnest devotee to freedom.

The leader of the royalist party was Thomas Hutchinson, a native of Massachusetts. From his first entrance into

¹ Gordon, *Am. Rev.*, i. 97.

² John Adams *Diary*, in *Works*, ii. 163.



Painted by J. C. Cozzani

ALB 45

Eng'd by H. B. COX

Samuel Adams

(From the Original Portrait in General Hall)



Samuel Adams

(Portrait of Samuel Adams)

public life he had been largely identified with the political movements of his time, and had always been zealous in his support of the prerogative. A slave to a grasping ambition, a lover of money and of position, and influential because of his learning and experience, he sacrificed the better qualities of his nature, and became the flatterer of every one whom he imagined could forward his interests. He counted himself above his country, and hence subordinated his patriotism to his personal aggrandizement. As an author, he is worthy of the highest commendation ; and his "History of Massachusetts" is the best monument to his genius. Of this work he himself has written: "As Bishop Burnet, I desire to write the history of my own time. I shall paint characters as freely as he did, but it shall not be published while I live ; and I expect the same satisfaction, which I doubt not the bishop had, of being revenged of some of the r——s (rascals). After I am dead, I wish you may have the pleasure of reading it."¹ By the "Letters," which Hutchinson wrote in the stormy days, and designed only for private circulation, but which were afterwards published, the glaring insincerity of the man was unmasked and his infamy exposed. Andrew Oliver, a brother-in-law of Hutchinson, and a man of the same principles ; Jeremiah Gridley, a lawyer at the head of his profession ; and Timothy Ruggles, distinguished for the boldness and strength of his thoughts, — were among the other noted men belonging to the party of the prerogative.

In October, 1760, George III. ascended the English throne. For the first and last time, since the accession of the House of Hanover, England saw a king who was resolved to play a part in English politics. In ten years he reduced govern-

¹ Hutchinson, *Corresp.*, ii. ; Letter dated January 3, 1763.

ment to a shadow, and turned the loyalty of his subjects into disaffection. In twenty, he had forced the colonies of America into revolt and independence; and brought England to the brink of ruin. It would seem as if great men only could have accomplished such work as this; but George III. had a smaller mind than any English king before him save James II. "Was there ever such stuff as Shakespeare?" he once asked. His education was wretched, his taste was mean; and yet he was clear as to his purpose, which was "to rule." Pitt was a friend to the colonists. The king longed for the time when "decrepitude or death" might put an end to Pitt; and even when death had freed him from "this trumpet of sedition," he denounced the proposal for a public monument as "an offensive measure to me personally." There was nothing in the character of the new monarch calculated to inspire the hope that, under his reign, the affairs of the provinces would be less rigorously conducted.

Scarcely had the tidings of the accession of George III. reached America, when an event transpired significant of the drama that was soon to open. In 1733 Parliament had levied a duty of sixpence per gallon upon all foreign molasses imported into the colonies. In case of forfeiture, "one third part went to the king for the use of the colony where the forfeiture was made, one third to the governor, and one third to the informer." Under this act many illegal abuses had been committed, and the whole conduct of the officers of customs was singularly odious. Finding that they were likely to be resisted in the execution of their duty, one of the officers petitioned the Superior Court for "Writs of Assistance." At the request of James Otis, a day in February, 1761, was fixed for a hearing; and on this day Thomas

Hutchinson, the chief justice, with his four associates, sat in the council chamber of the Old State House, in Boston, for the purpose of trying the cause.

The case for the crown was argued by Jeremiah Gridley, the attorney-general. "The statutes of the 12th and 14th of Charles II," said he, "and the 6th of Anne allow Writs of Assistance to be issued by the English Court of Exchequer; the colonial law of the 2d William III., chapter 3, devolves the power of that court on the colonial Superior Court; and the statutes of the 7th and 8th William III. confer upon colonial revenue officers the same powers as are exercised by the like officers in England. To refuse, therefore, the Writ of Assistance, even if the common privileges of Englishmen are taken away by it, is to deny that the Parliament of Great Britain is the sovereign legislature of the British empire."¹

The wise and learned Thacher rose to reply. "The material question which claims our attention," he argued, "is whether the practice of the Exchequer is good enough for this court. The court itself has renounced the chance of jurisdiction which the Exchequer had in cases where either party was the king's debtor; and why depart in the present instance?"²

Then appeared James Otis for the people — the prophet of their greatness. "I am determined to my dying day" — such were his glowing words — "to oppose, with all the powers and faculties God has given me, all such instruments of slavery on the one hand, and villany on the other, as this Writ of Assistance is. I argue in favor of British liberties, at a time when we hear the greatest monarch upon earth declaring from his throne that he glories in the name

¹ Hutchinson, iii. 94.

² Minot, ii. 90.

of Briton, and that the privileges of his people are dearer to him than the most valuable prerogatives of the crown. I oppose the kind of power, the exercise of which, in former periods of English history, cost one king of England his head, and another his throne. Let the consequences be what they will, I am determined to proceed, and to the call of my country am ready to sacrifice estate, ease, health, applause, and even life. The patriot and the hero will ever do thus; and if brought to the trial, it will then be known how far I can reduce to practice principles which I know to be founded in truth.

“Special writs may be legal; and the Court of Exchequer may grant such, upon oath made before the Lord Treasurer by those who solicit them. The act of 14 Charles II. conclusively proves this. On this ground the present writ, being general, is illegal. Every one, with this writ, may be a tyrant; and if this commission be legal, a tyrant, in a legal manner, may also control, imprison, or murder any one within the realm. Again, the writ is perpetual. No return is to be made; and he who executes it is responsible to no one for his doings. He may reign secure in his petty tyranny, and spread terror and desolation around him until the trump of the archangel shall excite different emotions in his soul. Besides, the writ is unlimited. The officer may enter all houses at will, and command all to assist him. Nay, even his menials may enforce its provisions. And what is this but to have the curse of Canaan, with a witness, upon us? — to be the servant of servants, the most despicable of God’s creation?

“The freedom of one’s house is an essential branch of English liberty. A man’s house is his castle; and while he is quiet, he is as well guarded as his prince. This writ, if

declared legal, annihilates this privilege. Officers and their menials may enter our houses when they please, and we cannot resist them. Upon bare suspicion they may institute a search. And that this wanton exercise of power is no chimera facts fully prove. Reason and the constitution are both against this writ. The only authority that can be found for it is a law enacted in the zenith of arbitrary power, when Star Chamber abuses were pushed to extremity by some ignorant clerk of the Exchequer. But even if the writ could be elsewhere found, it would be illegal. No act of Parliament can establish such a writ. Though it should be made in the very words of the petition, it would be void; for every act against the constitution is void.”¹

For four hours the audience listened to this stream of eloquence from the lips of Otis. He “was a flame of fire,” says the elder Adams; “with a promptitude of classical allusions, a depth of research, a rapid summary of historical events and dates, a profusion of legal authorities, a prophetic glance of his eyes into futurity, and a rapid torrent of impetuous eloquence, he hurried away all before him. American independence was then and there born. Every man of an immense, crowded audience appeared to me to go away, as I did, ready to take up arms against Writs of Assistance.”² Notwithstanding its impressive effect, the eloquence of Otis did not win the day. The cause was continued “to the next term;” and in the mean time the plausible Hutchinson wrote to England for instructions. The answer came; “and the subservient court, obeying authority, and disregarding law, granted Writs of Assistance whenever the officers of the revenue applied for them.”³

¹ Minot, ii. 91-99, where the whole of the speech is given.

² Allen, Biog. Dict., art. Otis.

³ Bancroft, iv. 419.

On the 5th of October, 1761, William Pitt, the "Great Commoner," and the greatest prime-minister of his century, resigned his office in the presence of King George. The Earl of Egremont became his successor. By this change the sovereign lost one whom he had always regarded as "a most imperious servant;" the people of America lost for a season the influence of a friend. A concurrence of events now ripened the colonial conflict with the crown. About this time, a bill making gold a legal tender was reported and passed in the House. The governor's council refused to acquiesce, and the House passed the bill again. The controversy upon the question, although of minor importance, again called forth the stirring energies of Otis. When the news arrived, at the close of the French war, that peace had been proclaimed, Mr. Otis thus declared the sentiments of Massachusetts: "We in America," said he, "have certainly abundant reasons to rejoice. The heathen are not only driven out, but the Canadians, much more formidable enemies, are conquered and become fellow-subjects. The British dominion and power may now be said, literally, to extend from sea to sea, and from the great river to the ends of the earth. And we may safely conclude, from his Majesty's wise administration hitherto, that liberty and knowledge, civil and religious, will be coextended, improved, and preserved to the latest posterity. No other constitution of civil government has yet appeared in the world so admirably adapted to these great purposes as that of Great Britain. Every British subject in America is, of common right, by acts of Parliament, and by the laws of God and nature, entitled to all the essential privileges of Britons. By particular charters there are peculiar privileges granted, as in justice they might and ought, in consideration of the arduous

undertaking to begin so glorious an empire as British America is rising to. These jealousies, that some weak and wicked minds have endeavored to infuse with regard to the colonies, had their birth in the blackness of darkness; and it is great pity they had not remained there forever. The true interests of Great Britain and her plantations are mutual; and what God in his providence has united, let no man dare attempt to pull asunder."¹ These loyal sentiments might long have continued unaltered, had it not been for the gross misconduct of the councillors of the king.

At the close of the French war, the English debt amounted to one hundred and forty millions of pounds sterling; and, in order to diminish this burden it was deemed "just and necessary that a revenue be raised in his Majesty's dominions in America for defraying the expenses of defending, protecting, and securing the same."² In March, 1763, Charles Townshend, a leading member of the Board of Trade, introduced into the House of Commons a scheme for raising a revenue from the American plantations; but the bill failed to pass. In the same month, and only a few days later, Grenville, who was resolved that the colonies should bear their share of the English burden, caused a bill to be brought in which provided that, "all officers of British ships of war stationed upon the American coast should act as officers of the customs, and receive a share of the cargoes confiscated for violation of the revenue laws." This bill passed the House, was agreed to by the Lords, and was finally approved by the king. In April, Grenville was placed at the head of the treasury, and Egremont and Lord Halifax became the two secretaries of state. With these changes began the fierce struggle with America. Grenville

¹ Hutchinson, iii. 101.

² Bancroft, v. 32.

was not an evil man at heart ; but his misguided sense of justice forced upon his ministry very many evil results. By relying wholly upon his own judgment he was led into error, from which, when discovered, he showed no inclination to extricate himself.

In May, the Lords of Trade were consulted with reference to American affairs. Lord Egremont himself proposed the following questions: I. "What new governments should be established, and what form should be adopted for such new governments? And where the capital or residence of each governor should be fixed?" II. "What military establishment will be sufficient? What new forts should be erected? And which, if any, may it be expedient to demolish?" III. "In what mode, least burdensome and most palatable to the colonies, can they contribute towards the support of the additional expense which must attend this civil and military establishment, upon the arrangement which your lordships shall propose?"¹ The Earl of Shelburne stood at the head of the Board of Trade; and in his reply he refused to implicate himself in the plans for taxing America. Although the response gave scant encouragement to the schemes of Townshend and Grenville and Egremont, these gentlemen were not intimidated. Before any definite scheme, however, could be agreed upon, Egremont died; the Earl of Shelburne withdrew from his post, and the Earl of Hillsborough became his successor. A new ministry was also formed, with Grenville as lord treasurer.

In September, Charles Jenkinson, the secretary of Bute, was directed to "write to the commissioners of the stamp duties, to prepare a draught of a bill to be presented to

¹ Egremont to the Lords of Trade, 5 May, 1763, in Fitzmaurice, *Life of Shelburne*, i. 247, seq.

Parliament for extending the stamp duties to the colonies." The secretary obeyed; and on the 23d, the Stamp Act was draughted. Whether Grenville was the author of this odious measure, which the good sense of Walpole had rejected, or not, it matters but little. He, at least, "brought it into form," and by him it was deliberately sanctioned. He, at the same time, foresaw that such an act would not be relished by the Americans; he felt assured that some resistance would be made; and, therefore, he next gave his attention to the best method of enforcing it. When orders were issued to the commander-in-chief in America, that his troops should "give their assistance to the officers of the revenue for the effectual suppression of contraband trade, and the news came that the plan of a stamp tax had again been proposed, the whole country was aroused. "My heart bleeds for America," exclaimed Whitefield. "O, poor New England, there is a deep laid plot against both your civil and religious liberties; and they will be lost. Your golden days are at an end."

In January, 1764, the General Court of Massachusetts exerted themselves to prevent the passage of the Stamp Act. But all that they could do, for the present, was merely to discuss the question, and await future developments. In March, Grenville renewed his scheme, and still adhered to his unjust policy. Jenkinson reported a bill, at his instance, providing for a duty of threepence per gallon on molasses, and an additional duty of twenty-two shillings per hundred weight on white sugars imported into the British colonies. It was agreed to by the Lords, and approved by the king.

In America, there was "not a man on the continent who did not consider it a sacrifice made of the northern colonies to the superior interest in Parliament of the West Indies."

Even before its passage became known in Massachusetts, Samuel Adams, a Christian patriot and statesman, stood up in a town meeting held in Boston, and proposed a series of resolves, instructing its representatives what course to pursue. "There is no room for delay," such are his words and those of Boston. "Those unexpected proceedings may be preparatory to more extensive taxation; for if our trade may be taxed, why not our lands, and everything we possess? If taxes are laid upon us in any shape, without our having a legal representation where they are laid, are we not reduced from the character of free subjects to the miserable state of tributary slaves? This annihilates our charter right to govern and tax ourselves. We claim British rights, not by charter only; we are born to them. Use your endeavors that the weight of the other North American colonies may be added to that of this province, that by united application all may happily obtain redress." This was Boston's virtual denial of the right of the British Parliament to tax America.¹ In about the same tone was written the new letter of instructions which the General Court, in June, transmitted to Mr. Mauduit, its agent in England.

Measures were now taken, and a special committee was appointed to correspond with the other colonies, and to urge upon them the necessity of a union to "prevent a Stamp Act, or any other impositions and taxes, upon this and the other American provinces."² These proceedings found no favor with Bernard and Hutchinson. The former suggested to the English ministry, that a complete reformation of the American governments was needed to secure tranquillity; the latter, although censuring the recent "madness" of the Court, was gracious enough to inform the ministry that it

¹ Bancroft, v. 197.

² Hutchinson, iii. 110. Bancroft, v. 200.

was "prejudicial to the national interest to impose Parliamentary taxes. The advantages promised by an increase of the revenue are all fallacious and delusive. You will lose more than you gain. Britain already reaps the profit of all their trade, and of the increase of their substance. By cherishing their present turn of mind you will serve your interest more than by your present schemes."¹

In October, the House went into a committee of the whole, and prepared an address to the king. Inasmuch as this address was displeasing to the Council, an address to the House of Commons, prepared in a much milder tone, was substituted. Its main purport was to solicit a continuance of the royal favor, and a withdrawal of all schemes for taxing the colonies. Hutchinson, wavering between patriotism and loyalty, between devotion to his country and servility to the crown, now concluded to side with the oppressors. Defying public opinion, he hoped for an elevation to the highest office in the province. Whatever evil he committed was wholly in secret. "I desire to avoid publicity," he wrote to a friend in England, "and to do nothing out of character. . . . Whatever you do, I hope you will not let it be known that they come from me!"²

Meanwhile Grenville was as busy as ever. The addresses which had been received from Massachusetts, New York, and Virginia had produced a sensation in Parliament, and the ministry was resolved to urge its scheme of taxation "upon the most general and acknowledged grounds of whig policy." At the opening of the session, the king presented the American question as one of "obedience to the laws and respect for the legislative authority of the kingdom." His words were echoed by the Lords and Commons, who

¹ Bancroft, v. 208.

² MS. Correspond., li. 99.

declared their intention to proceed "with that temper and firmness which will best conciliate and insure due submission to the laws, and reverence to the legislative authority of Great Britain."¹ These proceedings flattered the feelings of the minister; and on the 5th of February, 1765, fifty-five resolutions, embracing the details of the Stamp Act, were proposed to, and finally carried by, an overwhelming majority of the committee of ways and means. On the 27th the Stamp Act passed the House of Commons; on the 8th of March it was agreed to by the Lords, "without having encountered an amendment, debate, protest, division, or single dissentient vote." In this sad moment for America, when the crown, the ministry, and the crown officers in the colonies were conspiring against her liberties, the king was "in great danger," — he was crazed.² On the 22d the Act received the royal assent by a commission, the king himself being too "seriously ill" to sign it. Thus the Stamp Act was passed; and Grenville, its chief supporter, paused and reflected upon the next step to be taken.³

When the tidings of these proceedings reached the colonies, great dissatisfaction was expressed. "This system, if it is suffered to prevail," said Oxenbridge Thacher, "will extinguish the flame of liberty all over the world." "It is

¹ Aikin's *Annals* of George III., i. 89. Bancroft, v. 229.

² Adolphus, *Hist. of Eng.*, i. 175.

³ In itself, there was nothing very bad about the law called the "Stamp Act." Englishmen would not have complained of it at home; neither would the colonists have murmured, if it had not involved an important principle — the principle of "taxation without representation." The act simply required that all deeds and receipts, and other legal documents, should be written or printed on stamped paper, and that this paper should be sold by the tax collectors, the money going to the government. Taxes have since been imposed in a similar way in America. The excitement about the Stamp Act was virtually the beginning of the Revolutionary War.

the duty of all," exclaimed Otis, "humbly and silently to acquiesce in all the decisions of the supreme legislature. Nine hundred and ninety-nine in a thousand of the colonists will never once entertain a thought but of submission to our sovereign, and to the authority of Parliament in all possible contingencies." "The Stamp Act," wrote Hutchinson, "is received among us with as much decency as could be expected. Hitherto I have endeavored to state the case of the colonies in the most favorable light, always with submission to the supreme authority. It is now become my duty, as an executive officer, to promote the execution of the Act, and to prevent any evasion, and I hope there will be as little room for complaint from this as from any colony."¹ On the 16th of June, Otis proposed, and the Legislature of Massachusetts voted, that it was expedient that there should be a "meeting, as soon as convenient, of committees from the Houses in the several colonies, to consult together on their present circumstances, and the difficulties to which they were and must be reduced by the operation of the late acts of Parliament." A committee was appointed to prepare circular letters; and the first Tuesday of October was named as the day for the meeting. The tories, or royalist party, sneered; and the governor and Hutchinson severely censured these proceedings. Their opposition, however, proved of no consequence.

It now became evident that Parliament was bent upon enforcing the Stamp Act to the very extreme. Already the Mutiny Act, with power to billet troops on private houses, had passed, and thus added one grievance to another. On the other hand, the colonists were determined to thwart the wishes of Parliament. The alarm bell had sounded, and

¹ MS. Corresp., ii. 139.

"the decree seemed to go forth that Boston should lead the way in the work of compulsion."¹ "I am now convinced," wrote Hutchinson again, "that the people throughout the colonies are impressed with an opinion that they are no longer considered by the people of England as their fellow-subjects, and entitled to English liberties; and I expect some tragical event in some or other of the colonies, for we are not only in a deplorable situation at present, but have a dismal prospect before us as the commencement of the Act approaches. If there be no execution of it, all business must cease; and yet the general view is, it cannot be carried into execution."²

A change in the ministry again took place in England, and on the 8th of July, 1765, William Pitt was once more called to office. But Pitt stood almost alone. The silence of Newcastle and the Rockingham party had estranged him from the only section of the whigs which could have acted with him, and the one friend who remained to him, his brother-in-law, Lord Temple, refused to aid in an attempt to construct a cabinet. The king, therefore, had no resource but to turn to the Marquis of Rockingham and the whig party which he headed. Rockingham became minister in July. When in September the tidings reached America, great joy was awakened. "If Astræa were not fled," said Mayhew, "there might be grounds for the hope."

In the previous month the news had arrived that Pitt had been restored to power; and such was the enthusiasm of the "Sons of Liberty," that they resolved upon making some demonstration of their feelings. Andrew Oliver, the brother-in-law of Hutchinson, had been appointed stamp-distributor for Massachusetts. Reasonably enough, the peo-

¹ Gage to Conway, Sept., 1765.

² MS. Corresp., ii. 145.

ple cherished for him no very high esteem, and in the intense madness of the hour, scrupled not to concert a plan to hang him in effigy. On the morning of the 14th of October, the inhabitants, who lived in the southern part of the town, saw, as they passed to their places of business, the "effigy of Oliver, tricked out with emblems of Bute and Grenville," suspended from the bough of a stately elm, long known as the "Liberty Tree," which stood near what was then the entrance to the town.¹ Great was the excitement produced. The tidings of the grotesque spectacle spread like wildfire from ear to ear, and thousands assembled to gaze upon it. At length Hutchinson heard the news, and as chief justice, ordered the sheriff to remove the image. But the sheriff had not the courage to do so; and the people said, "We will take it down ourselves at evening."

Evening came, and the excitement was increased. The images were taken down, and placed upon a bier. Six men bore them through the main street, and halted immediately in front of the Old State House. The air was rent with loud vociferations. "Liberty, property, and no stamps!" were the shouts which greeted the ears of the governor as he sat in the council chamber. The crowd moved on into Kilby Street, and there demolished a frame building, which it was supposed had been erected for a stamp office; and then, gathering together the broken fragments, they kindled a bonfire upon Fort Hill, and reduced the images to ashes.

The spirit of the people was fully aroused. "The Stamp Act shall never be executed here," said a patriotic townsman. "We will die on the place first. We will spend our last

¹ This tree stood at the corner of what is now Essex and Washington Streets. The effigy itself was prepared by the mechanics of Boston. Drake, *Hist. of Boston*, 695. John Adams, *Works*, ii. 175.

blood in the cause." "All the power of Great Britain shall not compel us to submit to it." Such were the exclamations of the more courageous. A war with the mother country seemed inevitable; and Mayhew wrote, "We have sixty thousand fighting men in this colony alone." Seized with terror, Hutchinson ordered the colonel of the militia to sound an alarm, and the troops to be mustered. "My drummers," replied the officer, "are in the mob." The chief justice himself was forced to flee, while the sheriff valiantly covered his retreat. An hour before midnight the multitude repaired to the governor's residence, and, after giving three cheers, dispersed quietly.

Early the next morning, the governor and the chief justice together discussed the proceeding of the previous night. "If Oliver had been found last night," said Bernard, "he would actually have been murdered." The stamp-distributor thought so himself. "We have a dismal prospect before us," remarked Hutchinson. The opinion generally prevailed that unless Oliver should resign, his house would be "pulled down about his ears." Thus opposed, Oliver profited by the lesson of the hour, and "gave it under his own hand" that he would no longer serve as stamp-officer. Another bonfire on Fort Hill celebrated the people's victory. The governor had already issued a proclamation, offering a reward for the discovery and arrest of the offenders. But no one seemed willing to act as a spy; while wise men reasoned that "the prisons would not hold them many hours."

Not yet, however, was the voice of the people spent. "Let us hear from Hutchinson," said the leaders, "from his own mouth, that he is not in favor of the Stamp Act, and we will be easy." On the 26th, twelve days after Oliver had been hanged in effigy, another bonfire was kin-

dled in front of the Old State House. A large crowd had assembled; and pushing their way into the office of Mr. Story, the deputy registrar, they burnt all the records of the Vice Admiralty Court; next they visited the office of the Comptroller of the Customs, in Hanover Street; and finally, the residence of the hated Hutchinson. "He is a prerogative man." "He grasps at all the important offices in the state; he himself holds four, and his relations six or seven more." "He had a principal hand in projecting the Stamp Act." Such were some of the reproaches which served to infuriate the mob. Hutchinson foresaw his peril, but was powerless to avert retribution; the crowd burst open the doors of his palatial residence in Garden Court Street, destroyed his furniture, scattered his books and plate, and at daybreak left his house a ruin. The chief justice and his family had barely enough time to escape with their lives.¹

On the following day the governor summoned his Council to a meeting; but before this body met, the sober-minded inhabitants of Boston, having assembled in Faneuil Hall, declared their "detestation of these violent proceedings," and pledged themselves to "suppress the like disorders for the future." Notwithstanding these resolutions, the whole continent applauded the proceedings of the 14th of August; and all the officers of the crown were terror-stricken. In the midst of these disturbances, the news came that the Rockingham whigs had been elevated to power; and the hope was expressed that the Stamp Act would now be repealed. At nearly the same time, the startling news reached Parliament from America, that Congress had resolved on resistance, and its resolution had been followed by action.

¹ Hutchinson, MS. Corresp., ii. 146.

On the 25th of September the General Court convened. The governor, after alluding to the late proceedings in deprecating terms, said, "The right of the Parliament of Great Britain to make laws for the American colonies, however it has been controverted in America, remains indisputable at Westminster. Is it in the will, or in the power, or for the interest of this province, to oppose such authority? If such opposition should be made, may it not bring on a contest, which may prove the most detrimental and ruinous event which could happen to this people?" The governor concluded, saying, "I would not willingly aggravate the dangers which are before you. I do not think it very easy to do it; this province seems to me to be on the brink of a precipice; it depends upon you to prevent its falling. From this time, this arduous business of executing the Stamp Act will be put into your hands, and it will become a provincial concern." The governor advised them to acquaint themselves with the exigencies of the times; and for this purpose he proposed to give them a recess. The House, however, would ask for no recess; and the governor, therefore, on the 27th, adjourned the Court to the last week in October.

"There is a snake in the grass," said the people of Boston; "touch not the unclean thing." And about the same time John Adams, of Braintree, declared through the medium of the press, "There seems to be a direct and formal design on foot in Great Britain to enslave all America. Be it remembered, liberty must at all hazards be defended. Rulers are no more than attorneys, agents, and trustees for the people; and if the trust is insidiously betrayed, or wantonly trifled away, the people have a right to revoke the authority that they themselves have deputed, and

to constitute abler and better agents. We have an indisputable right to demand our privileges against all the power and authority on earth.”¹ On the 24th of September, his native town passed a series of resolves, whose spirit rang through the whole province. At least forty towns adopted them, in substance, before the month had closed. Boston had already spoken its abhorrence of the Stamp Act, and elected Samuel Adams as its representative in the place made vacant by the death of Thacher. When in October, the Court met after its adjournment, a series of resolves, fourteen in number, was passed, and was ordered “to be kept in the records of this House, that a just sense of liberty and the firm sentiments of loyalty may be transmitted to posterity.”²

In the early part of the month a congress of delegates from the different provinces assembled in New York. The brave Gadsden was there from South Carolina, and Rutledge, his eloquent constituent. There also were the representatives from Rhode Island, Connecticut, Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Massachusetts. On the 7th, resolutions “based on the inalienable rights of man,” were passed, and an address to the king, a memorial to the House of Lords, and a petition to the House of Commons, were draughted and signed. While claiming an exemption from all taxes, except such as were imposed by the several colonial legislatures, the memorialists affirmed that they “esteemed their connection with, and dependence on Great Britain, as one of their greatest blessings, and apprehended the latter would appear to be sufficiently secure when it was considered that the inhabitants in the colonies had the most unbounded affection for his Majesty’s person, family, and government, as

¹ Bancroft, v. 825.

² Mass. Gazette, for Oct. 31 and Nov. 14, 1765.

well as for the mother country, and that their subordination to Parliament was universally acknowledged.”¹

Meanwhile the British ministry had heard of the “riots” in Massachusetts and elsewhere; and on the 24th of October had sent orders to the American governors, and to General Gage, to use “the utmost prudence and lenity.” On the 1st of November, the church bells in Boston tolled the knell of the Stamp Act, and every man was determined to prevent its enforcement. Grenville was hung in effigy upon the Liberty Tree in the early morning. The utmost harmony and good feeling, however, prevailed. On the 17th of December, Oliver formally resigned his office as distributor of stamps; and on the following day, at a town meeting held in Boston, two hundred of the principal merchants agreed to import no more goods from England unless the Stamp Act should be repealed, and countermanded the orders already sent abroad. Thus closed the year 1765,—a year which, wrote John Adams, “brings ruin or salvation to the British colonies. The eyes of all America are fixed on the British Parliament. In short, Britain and America are staring at each other; and they will probably stare more and more for some time.”²

But already the question of repeal was being debated in England. Grenville had been summoned to St. James’ to surrender the seals of his office; and out of the remnants of the old whig aristocracy and their successors a new administration had been formed. In place of Grenville, the Marquis of Rockingham now stood at the head of the treasury; the Duke of Grafton controlled the seals of the northern department of state, while those of the southern department were conferred on General Conway, a man who

¹ Barry, ii. 305.

² Works, ii. 170.


was so "fond of doing right, that the time for doing it passed before he could settle what it was." The young Earl of Dartmouth, distinguished only for his piety, became President of the Board of Trade. On the 14th of January Parliament reassembled, and was informed by the king that "matters of importance had happened in America, and orders been issued for the support of lawful authority." The Lords agreed to "assert and support the king's dignity;" but several of the Commons were very tender in their expressions respecting America. While the most memorable debate in the annals of England was in progress, William Pitt unexpectedly entered the House of Commons. Mr. Nugent (Lord Clare) had delivered his address in favor of the Stamp Act, and Edmund Burke had followed with his maiden speech.¹ Then Pitt arose, and whilst all eyes were directed towards his venerable aspect, he began one of those brilliant harangues which distinguished him as the most powerful orator of his day.

He approved the address in answer to the king's speech; he condemned "every capital measure" of the late ministry; he refused his confidence to the present administration. He then continued: "It is a long time since I have attended in Parliament. When the resolution was taken in the House to tax America, I was ill in bed. If I could have endured to have been carried in my bed, so great was the agitation of my mind for the consequences, I would have solicited some kind hand to have laid me on this floor, to have borne my testimony against it. It is now an act that has passed. I would speak with decency of every act of this House; but I must beg the indulgence of the House to

¹ Lord Mahon, *Hist. of Eng.*, v. 180. Bancroft says that Burke's maiden speech was not delivered until a later day.

speaking of it with freedom. As I cannot depend upon health for any future day, such is the nature of my infirmities, I will beg to say a few words at present, leaving the justice, the equity, the policy, the expediency of the Act to another time. Some gentlemen — alluding to Mr. Nugent — “seem to have considered it as a point of honor. If gentlemen consider it in that light, they leave all measures of right and wrong, to follow a delusion that may lead to destruction. It is my opinion that this kingdom has no right to lay a tax upon the colonies — to be sovereign and supreme in every circumstance of government and legislation whatsoever. They are the subjects of this kingdom, equally entitled with yourselves to all the natural rights of mankind and the peculiar privileges of Englishmen, equally bound by its laws, and equally participating of the constitution of this free country.

“The Americans are the sons, not the bastards, of England. Taxation is no part of the governing or legislative power. The taxes are a voluntary gift and grant of the Commons alone. There is an idea in some that the colonies are virtually represented in this House. I would fain know by whom an American is represented here. Is he represented by any knight of the shire in any county in this kingdom? Would to God that respectable representation was augmented to a greater number. Or, will you tell him that he is represented by any representative of a borough — a borough which, perhaps, no man ever saw? This is what is called the rotten part of the constitution. It cannot continue a century. If it does not drop, it must be amputated. The idea of a virtual representation of America in this House is the most contemptible idea that ever



entered into the head of man. It does not deserve a serious refutation."

General Conway concurred fully with the views of Pitt. Then Grenville arose. "When I proposed to tax America," said he, "I asked the House if any gentleman would object to the right. I repeatedly asked it, and no man would attempt to deny it. Protection and obedience are reciprocal. Great Britain protects America; America is bound to yield obedience. If not, tell me when these Americans were emancipated. When they want the protection of this kingdom, they are always very ready to ask it. That protection has always been afforded them in the most full and ample manner. The nation has run itself into an immense debt to give them their protection; and now they are called upon to contribute a small share towards the public expense, an expense arising from themselves, they renounce your authority, insult your officers, and break out, I might almost say, into open rebellion."

"The gentleman tells us," exclaimed Pitt, by the indulgence of the House, "America is obstinate, America is almost in open rebellion. I rejoice that America has resisted. Three millions of people, so dead to all the feelings of liberty as voluntarily to submit to be slaves, would have been fit instruments to make slaves of the rest. With the enemy at their back, with our bayonets at their breasts, in the day of their distress, perhaps the Americans would have submitted to the imposition; but it would have been taking an ungenerous and unjust advantage. I am no courtier of America; I stand up for this kingdom. I maintain that the Parliament has a right to bind, to restrain, America. Our legislative power over the colonies is sovereign and supreme. When it ceases to be sovereign and

supreme, I would advise every gentleman to sell his lands, if he can, and embark for that country. When two countries are connected together, like England and her colonies, without being incorporated, the one must necessarily govern; the greater must rule the less; but so rule it as not to contradict the fundamental principles that are common to both.

“Upon the whole, I will beg leave to tell the House what is really my opinion. It is, that the Stamp Act be repealed—absolutely, totally, and immediately; that the reason for the repeal be assigned—because it was founded on an erroneous principle. At the same time, let the sovereign authority of this country over the colonies be asserted in as strong terms as can be assigned, and be made to extend to every point of legislation whatsoever,—that we may bind their trade, confine their manufactures, and exercise every power whatsoever except that of taking their money out of their pockets without their consent.”

Thus closed the debate, and the flaming words of Pitt fixed at once the minds of the wavering. In the latter part of the month the House resolved itself into a committee of the whole. Before this committee Benjamin Franklin appeared; and his examination was creditable alike to his talent and his character. “The American people,” said he, “will never submit to this Act, unless compelled by force of arms. Before this Act passed, the temper of that people towards Great Britain was the best in the world. They submitted willingly to the government of the crown, and paid in their courts obedience to the acts of Parliament. Natives of Britain were always treated with particular regard. To be an Old England man was of itself a character of respect, and gave a kind of rank among us. If the Act

is not repealed, I foresee a total loss of the respect and affection the people of America bear to this country, and of all the commerce that depends on that respect and affection. People will pay as freely to gratify one passion as another, — their resentment as their pride. They will pay no internal tax, but requisitions may be granted on application in the usual form. They will never repeal the resolutions which have been passed in their assemblies, and acknowledge the right of Parliament to lay internal taxes. No power, how great soever, can force them to change their opinions. And whereas it was once the pride of the people of America to indulge in the fashions and manufactures of Great Britain, it is now their pride to wear their old clothes over again, until they can make new ones.”¹

At half past one on the morning of the 22d of February, after a long and stormy debate, a division of opinion took place in the House of Commons. In the course of the debate, General Conway had moved leave to bring in a bill for the repeal of the American Stamp Act, on the grounds that it was proving injurious as much to the kingdom as to the colonies. Conway’s motion was carried by a vote of two

¹ Bigelow, *Life of Franklin*, i. 467–510 where may be found the entire examination, copied from the Journal of the House of Commons. “From this examination of Dr. Franklin, the reader may form a clearer and more comprehensive idea of the state and disposition of America, of the expediency or inexpediency of the measure in question, and of the character and conduct of the minister who proposed it, than from all that has been written upon the subject in newspapers and pamphlets, under the titles of essays, letters, speeches, and considerations, from the first moment of its becoming the object of public attention till now. The questions in general are put with great subtilty and judgment, and they are answered with such deep and familiar knowledge of the subject, such precision and perspicuity, such temper, and yet such spirit, as do the greatest honor to Dr. Franklin, and justify the general opinion of his character and abilities.” — *Gentleman’s Mag.*, July, 1767. Franklin was in England, at this time, as the agent of Pennsylvania.

hundred and seventy-five against one hundred and sixty-seven.

The roof of St. Stephen's rung with the loud applause of the victorious majority. The pure-minded Conway enjoyed a triumph. When Pitt stepped forth from the House, he was greeted by a large crowd, who, with uncovered heads, followed him homeward. Only hisses were showered upon Grenville, who swelled with rage and mortification. On the 4th of March, at midnight, the question was disposed of in the House of Commons, by a vote of two hundred and fifty against one hundred and twenty-two; and in the House of Lords, thirteen days later, it was carried by a majority of thirty-four. On the 18th the repeal of the Stamp Act was sanctioned by the king. To their honor, let it be said, the people of England entered fully into the spirit of the occasion. Grenville was defeated, and freedom had triumphed. "I rejoice," said Robertson, the illustrious historian, "from my love of the human species, that a million of men in America have some chance of running the same great career which other free people have held before them. I do not apprehend revolution or independence sooner than these must and should come."¹

¹ *History of America.*

CHAPTER XII.

MILITARY DESPOTISM IN THE PROVINCE.

THE repeal of the Stamp Act "hushed into silence almost every popular clamor, and composed every wave of popular disorder into a smooth and peaceful calm."¹ A special day was appointed for the rejoicings of the people of Massachusetts. In Boston, Liberty Tree was the centre of attraction, and thither at an early hour in the morning of the 19th of May a vast multitude was summoned by the ringing of bells and the booming of cannon. In the evening the town was illuminated, and images of the king, of Pitt, of Camden, and of Barré were exhibited in the houses.

Meanwhile affairs in the mother country were in an unsettled condition, and various adverse circumstances necessitated a change in the ministry. In July, the Marquis of Rockingham having proven his unfitness for office, an invitation was again extended to Pitt to return to the cabinet. The latter accepted the invitation. Pitt became chief minister, the Duke of Grafton the head of the treasury, Charles Townshend was appointed Chancellor of the Exchequer, and General Conway was continued secretary of state, with the Earl of Shelburne as his colleague. "If ever a cabinet," wrote Durand to Choiseul, "can hope for the rare privilege of unanimity, it is this, in which Pitt will see none but persons whose imagination he has subjugated, whose premature advancement

¹ J. Adams, in *Works*, ii. 203.

is due to his choice, whose expectations of permanent fortune rest on him alone.”¹ Shortly afterwards the “Great Commoner” signified a desire to be raised to the peerage; the king, in compliance, created him Earl of Chatham, and from this period his influence at court began to wane, and his name to be less respected abroad. For a while his acceptance of the earldom of Chatham ruined the confidence which his reputation for unselfishness had aided him to win. But it was from no vulgar ambition that Pitt laid down his title of the Great Commoner. It was the consciousness of failing strength which made him dread the storms of debate; and in a few short months the dread became a certainty. A painful and overwhelming illness, the result of nervous disorganization, withdrew him from public affairs; and his withdrawal robbed his colleagues of all vigor or union.

Notwithstanding that “every newspaper and pamphlet, every public and private letter, which arrived in America from England, seemed to breathe a spirit of benevolence, tenderness, and generosity,” the people of Massachusetts continued to suspect the selfish intentions of the king.² The Stamp Act had been repealed; but the oppressive laws of trade still remained in force. In December, 1766, the General Court appointed committees to “consider the difficulties which embarrassed the commerce of the country, and to propose measures for remedying these evils.”

Still another storm was brewing in England. Everybody was thirsting for office, and patriotism was being merged in selfishness. Pitt had been forced by illness to withdraw from his post; the cabinet was divided, and a deadly jealousy was kindled. “Such a state of affairs,” wrote Chesterfield, “was never seen before, in this or in any other country.”

¹ Bancroft, vi. 22.

² Adams, in Works, ii. 203.

"Never," said Lord Charlemont, "was known such disunion, such a want of concert, as visibly appears on both sides." Townshend assumed great importance, and in the House of Commons declared that "the government had become what he himself had been often called — a weathercock." In January, 1767, he promised soon to find means for raising a revenue from America. "I am still," he said, "a firm advocate for the Stamp Act, for its principle, and for the duty. I laugh at the distinction between internal and external taxes. I know no such distinction. It is perfect nonsense." In concluding his address, he exclaimed, "England is undone, if this taxation in America is given up." Even Camden, who had hitherto maintained that taxation and representation are inseparable, affirmed that his "doubt respecting the right of Parliament to tax America was removed by the declaration of Parliament itself, and that its authority must be maintained."¹

These and other proceedings confirmed to the people of America the justice of their cause. The Earl of Shelburne, however, as secretary for the southern department, assured the people they "might be perfectly easy about the enjoyment of their rights and privileges under the present administration;" and at once began to consider the American question, and to prepare for its solution. Shelburne was an honest and well-meaning statesman, and the schemes which he proposed might have allayed the excitement in the colonies had his colleagues approved of them. It was plain to see that he was more a "friend" to America than his associates wished him to be; and as such they watched him. About this time, Choiseul, the minister of France at the court of St. James, was secretly investigating the condition

¹ Chatham Corresp., iii. 136-185. Mahon, *Hist. of Eng.*, v. 180.

of the colonies. By his orders, De Kalb, an officer of German extraction, came to America to discover whether there was any prospect of a revolt. He found, however, that nothing of the sort was as yet premeditated.¹

Townshend had said that he would find means for raising a revenue from America; and Grenville now proposed that he should fulfil his pledge. Accordingly in May, 1767, the chancellor came forward with his scheme, and proposed a tax on glass, paper, painters' colors, and tea, to be paid as impost duties. Wise men foretold the evils that would result from the enforcement of such a bill. But in vain. On the 29th of June the Revenue Bill passed both Houses, and was signed by the king. "It had ever been uniformly acknowledged," says a writer, "that Great Britain possessed the right of commercial regulation and control; it could not be denied that port duties had been at former periods imposed for the purpose of commercial regulation. It could not be pretended, with consistency and plausibility, that the same power did not now inhere in the British Parliament; but it was at the same time impossible not to discern that this power was, in the present instance, exercised with a very different intention, and for the accomplishment of a very different object; and that by a species of artifice unworthy of a great nation, an attempt was now made to inveigle them into the payment of that revenue which could not be extorted by means more direct and unequivocal."² The opinion was general, particularly in America, that Townshend's scheme of taxation was more subversive of the rights of the colonies than was the Stamp Act.

"The die is thrown, — the Rubicon is passed," exclaimed the people of Massachusetts, when the news reached Boston.

¹ Kapp, *Leben des Johann Kalb*.

² Belsham, *George III.*, i. 204.

"Our strength consists in union," wrote Mauduit. "Let us, above all, be of one heart and of one mind. Let us call on our sister colonies to join with us in asserting our rights. If our opposition to slavery is called rebellion, let us pursue duty with firmness, and leave the event to Heaven." Whilst the late proceedings were being thus abhorred, Townshend died, and in September, Lord North, the eldest son of the Earl of Guilford, was appointed to his place.

It soon became apparent that the ministry was preparing to enforce the new Act; and ere long, letters arrived from the friends of American liberty in Europe, stating that it was the intention of the administration to cause the authors of the riots and the writers of "seditious pieces," to be arrested and sent to England, to be tried for high treason. Popular fury was again inflamed. The public prints of the day teemed with essays written in the boldest language, but all of them breathing the same spirit, and tending to rouse the indignation of Americans at the measures of the British cabinet. "We Americans have a righteous cause," wrote Josiah Quincy, Junior. "We know it. The power of Great Britain may oppress, nay, for a time apparently subdue us. But, before all the freeborn sons of the north will yield a general and united submission to any tyrannic power on earth, fire and sword, famine and slaughter, desolation and ruin, will ravage the land."¹

At length the crisis arrived. On the 28th of October the inhabitants of Boston, in town meeting assembled, voted to dispense with a large number of articles of British manufacture. The majority of the other towns in the province likewise subscribed to these resolves. In December the last change in the British ministry took place. A new depart-

¹ J. Quincy, Mem. of J. Quincy, Jr., 12.

ment, having the charge of the colonies, was created, and Lord Hillsborough was made its secretary. No other change of any importance was made ; and the members of the ministry were almost unanimous in the opinion that the authority of Parliament must be maintained in the colonies.

Hillsborough was no friend to America, and early gave a proof of his hostility. To Hutchinson he granted a pension of two hundred pounds, "to be paid annually by the commissioners of customs." "If such acts are continued," said the Bostonians, "we shall be obliged to maintain in luxury sycophants, court parasites, and hungry dependents, who will be sent over to watch and oppress those who oppose them. The governors will be men rewarded for despicable services, hackneyed in deceit and avarice, or some noble scoundrel who has spent his fortune in every kind of debauchery."¹ At this juncture Samuel Adams drew up a remonstrance against the Revenue Act, to be sent by the province to England. "Seven times this letter was revised ; every word was weighed, every sentence considered, each seemingly harsh sentence was tempered and refined." The House of Representatives sanctioned this document, and copies of it were sent to each of the ministers.

At such a time the governor was not in sympathy with the people ; on the contrary, the former was constantly furnishing grounds for fresh accusations. On the 4th of March he dared to reprove the legislature ; and of some of the members he spoke in terms of the bitterest contempt. "These are the men," said he, "to whose importance everlasting contention is necessary. Time and experience will soon pull the mask off these false patriots, who are sacrificing their country to the gratification of their own passions." Mean-

¹ Bancroft, vi. 117.

while the Massachusetts circular had reached England, and was at once denounced as of a "most dangerous and factious tendency, calculated to inflame the minds of his Majesty's good subjects in the colonies." About the same time private letters were passing between Hillsborough and Bernard, the governor. The latter wished to become an informer against the province, under a pledge of secrecy. Hutchinson united with him in defaming the public honor. "It only needs," he wrote, "one steady plan pursued a little while, and success is sure." The British secretary of state was pleased by such suggestions, and signified his readiness to comply, by ordering a regiment to Boston, to be permanently quartered there, and by directing the admiralty to send one frigate and four smaller vessels to be stationed in Boston harbor.

Early in the summer of 1768 the commander of the "Romney" British man-of-war anchored off in the channel, under the pretence that he was in want of men, ventured to impress a number of seamen belonging to New England. An attempt was made to secure the release of the seamen by offering substitutes. But the captain refused to listen to any such proposition, and declared, "No man shall go out of this vessel. The town is a blackguard town — ruled by mobs. They have begun with me by rescuing a man whom I pressed this morning; and by the eternal God, I will make their hearts ache before I leave it." On the same day, — the 10th of June, — at about sunset, the sloop "Liberty," belonging to John Hancock, one of the wealthiest of the Boston patriots, was seized for an alleged false entry, and preparations were being made to remove her alongside of the Romney. Malcom, a trader, advised the revenue officers to permit the vessel to lie at the wharf; but Hallowell, the

comptroller, replied, "I shall not," and immediately gave orders to cut the fasts. "Stop till the owner comes," shouted the crowd. "I'll split the brains of any man that offers to reeve a fast, or stop the vessel!" exclaimed the master of the Romney; and then, turning to the marines, he commanded them to fire. The latter, however, dared not fire. The people were exasperated by such conduct. Hancock, Warren, and Samuel Adams met, and questioned what should be done; and an hour before midnight went forth the order — "Each man to his tent."

On the 14th the "Sons of Liberty" assembled in the space around Liberty Tree, and a chairman was chosen. At three o'clock a legal meeting was called by the selectmen, in the meeting-house of the Old South Church. Otis was chosen moderator, and was "ushered into the hall by an almost universal clap of hands." An address to the governor was voted, and a committee of twenty-one was appointed to present it. On the following day Otis delivered a speech, in which he advised the preservation of order, and expressed the hope that present grievances might soon be redressed. "If not," he added, "and we are called on to defend our liberties and privileges, I hope and believe we shall, one and all, resist even unto blood. But I pray God Almighty that this may never so happen." The committee appointed to present the address was received by the governor with marked obsequiousness. In his reply, the latter said, "I shall think myself most highly honored if I can be, in the lowest degree, an instrument in procuring a perfect reconciliation between you and the parent state." Such professions, however, were only false; and matters progressed daily from bad to worse. Massachusetts had been ordered to rescind her resolutions against importing goods from

England ; but the legislature, almost with one voice, refused to comply with the royal mandate. On the 2d of July, the governor, in accordance with his instruction, dissolved the Court ; and thus Massachusetts was without a legislature, and the liberties of her people were at stake.

The struggle was now fairly opened. The conduct of Massachusetts was the theme of discussion everywhere on the continent, from London to Madrid. "When rebellion begins," said Lord Mansfield, "the laws cease. The Americans must first be compelled to submit to the authority of Parliament ; and it is only after having reduced them to the most entire obedience that an inquiry can be made into their real or pretended grievances." Camden was alarmed, "because the colonies were more sober, and consequently more determined, in the present opposition than they were upon the Stamp Act." "What, then, is to be done ?" asked Grafton. "Indeed, my lord, I do not know," was the former's reply. "Parliament cannot repeal the Revenue Act, for that would admit the American principle to be right, and their own doctrine erroneous. The law must be executed ; but how it shall be executed, I cannot say. Boston is the ringleading province ; and if any country is to be chastised, the punishment should be levelled there." In Boston, the spirit of freedom told plainly how the law would have to be executed. "We will never become slaves," said Samuel Adams. "We will submit to no tax. We will take up arms, and shed our last drop of blood, before the king and the Parliament shall impose on us, or settle crown officers, independent of the colonial legislature, to dragoon us."

It had long been whispered that the king had resolved on quartering his regulars in Boston ; to protest against which,

and against the danger to "the liberties of America from a united body of pensioners and soldiers," several town-meetings had been called. At length all fears were realized. On the 28th of September a squadron of seven armed vessels anchored off Nantasket. Three days later, three regiments of king's troops, armed with fixed bayonets, stepped upon Long Wharf. With the beat of drums and the flying of colors they marched thence to the Common. That night, the air being chill, the troops were sheltered in Faneuil Hall. "I have got possession of the School of Liberty, and thereby secured all their arms. I will keep possession of this town, where faction seems to prevail beyond conception," was the triumphant boast of Dalrymple, the commander. It was not difficult for him to carry out this threat, for there was no one then to oppose him. General Gage soon arrived in Boston, and demanded quarters for his Irish regiments. "The barracks are not yet filled," was the reply; "and we are under no obligations to make further provisions until the law has been complied with." The governor endeavored to procure suitable quarters on his own responsibility, but without success. "I am at the end of my tether," said he, in disgust. "I can do no more." He thus left Gage to shift for himself.

Before the season had closed, military despotism was established in the province. Boston was a garrisoned town, and the liberties of the people were at the mercy of a hireling soldiery. "My daily reflections for two years," wrote John Adams, afterwards, "at the sight of those soldiers before my door, were serious enough. Their very appearance in Boston was a strong proof to me that the determination of Great Britain to subjugate us was too deep and inveterate ever to be altered by us; for everything we could do was

misrepresented, and nothing we could say was credited.”¹ It was trying times for the Sons of Liberty, but enough wise and prudent men there were to evolve from them beneficial and lasting results. “O, my countrymen,” wrote Josiah Quincy, Jr., “what will our children say, when they read the history of these times, should they find we tamely gave away, without one noble struggle, the most invaluable of earthly blessings? As they drag the galling chain, will they not execrate us? If we have any respect for things sacred; any regard to the dearest treasure on earth; if we have any tender sentiment for posterity; if we would not be despised by the whole world, let us in the most open, solemn manner, and with determined fortitude, swear, — we will die, if we cannot live freemen!”²

In his speech at the opening of Parliament the king railed at “the spirit of faction,” which he affirmed, had broken out “afresh in some of the colonies.” “With your concurrence and support,” he added, “I shall be able to defeat the mischievous designs of those turbulent and seditious persons, who, under false pretences, have but too successfully deluded numbers of my subjects in America, and whose practices, if suffered to prevail, cannot fail to produce the most fatal consequences to my colonies immediately, and in the end, to all the dominions of my crown.” A warm debate followed; and several entertained the opinion that the late act ought to be repealed. “I am against repealing the last act of Parliament,” said Lord North; “I will never think of repealing it until I see America prostrate at my feet.” The House of Lords replied to the king in an address. “We will, by every means in our power, cheerfully and zealously support your Majesty in all such future measures as shall be found

¹ Works, ii. 214.

² Memoirs of J. Quincy, Jr., 18.

requisite to enforce a due obedience to the laws, restore order and good government where they have been disturbed, and to establish the constitutional dependence of the colonies of Great Britain, so essential to the interest and prosperity of both." These words were a virtual declaration of war against the colonies.

On the 26th of January, 1769, a grand debate took place "on the North American affairs," in the House of Commons. The ministry showed what they had done already, and intended to do in the future, — "that on the representation of Governor Bernard and the commissioners of customs, they had ordered troops and ships to Boston, by whose assistance everything was now quiet; that they intended to keep them there; that by not repealing the tax bills, they would show to North America their intentions to be steadily and firmly their masters; that by bringing over the culpable, they hoped to strike a greater terror than any trials could do in that country, where it would be impossible to get a jury not involved in the same guilt." Barré declared, "The question is not of one refractory colony. The whole country is ripe for revolt. If we do not change our conduct towards her, America will be torn from our side. I repeat it, unless you repeal this law, you run the risk of losing America."

At home, Bernard and Hutchinson, in connection with the attorney-general, were searching for evidence against the leading patriots of the day. Otis and Samuel Adams were especially abhorred; and sworn affidavits, accusing them of treason, were sent to England. But these proceedings amounted to nothing. On the 31st of May, 1769, a new legislature was convened "in the name of the king." The grievances, which had been complained of a year before, remained unredressed. One of the first acts of the repre-

representatives was to draw up a protest, praying for "the removal of the forces, by sea and land, out of this port and the gates of this city." In his reply, the governor said, "I have no authority over his Majesty's ships in this port, or his troops in this town; nor can I give any orders for the removal of the same." The House was more dissatisfied than ever, and criticised the message of the governor with much severity. Towards the middle of June the controversy became warm, and the governor threatened to adjourn the General Court to some other place unless the members should alter their course. "It is an indifferent thing to me," he said, "where the General Court is held. I know that it is not necessarily confined to any town. That town seems to me to be the most proper for it where the business can be most conveniently, easily, and readily done. And as it is apparent from your resolutions that you do not think this is a proper town for the Court to sit in, I shall remove it to Cambridge, against which place no objection that I know of can be formed."

The House responded to this message in befitting words. "No time," said they, "can be better employed than in the preservation of the rights derived from the British constitution, and insisting upon points which, though your excellency may consider them as non-essential, we esteem its best bulwarks. No treasure can be better expended than in securing that true old English liberty which gives a relish to every other enjoyment."

The governor made a final attempt in July to coerce the House. He requested that body to provide funds for meeting the expenses incurred by quartering his Majesty's troops in Boston. "Your excellency must excuse us," replied the House, "in this express declaration, that as we cannot, con-

sistently with our honor or interest, and much less with the duty we owe our constituents, so we NEVER shall make provision for the purposes you have mentioned." Thus, almost ignominiously, closed the administration of Governor Bernard. On the last day of July he sailed for England, "regretted by none who were sincerely desirous of the freedom and welfare of the province, but followed by the honest indignation of every intelligent and upright patriot for the misrepresentations he had often made of the views and conduct of the oppressed citizens, and the arbitrary and unfeeling manner in which he had executed the obnoxious laws of the British ministry."

Thomas Hutchinson, who for eight years previous had been chief justice of the province, succeeded to the chair left vacant by Bernard. Had Hutchinson been a sincere and firm friend to the rights of the province, though at the same time duly disposed to maintain the prerogative of the king and the just authority of Parliament, harmony would probably have been in a good degree restored to the province, and the separation of the colonies from the parent state delayed for many years. As the case stood, neither the previous conduct nor the character of the new governor afforded any pledges of a peaceful administration. Already the spirit of the people appalled him, and their refractory deeds convinced him that "without a further exertion of power and authority from the kingdom, acts of Parliament for raising money by taxes from the inhabitants of the colonies could never be carried into execution."

At the session of Parliament, in January, 1770, the American question was discussed. Pitt ventured to address the House of Lords, while every member hung on his lips with attention. In the course of his remarks, he said, "I own

my natural partiality to America, and am inclined to make allowance for all excesses. The people of the colonies should be treated with kindness. Their ebullitions of liberty, which have broken out upon the skin, are a sign, if not of perfect health, at least of a vigorous constitution, and must not be driven in too suddenly, lest they strike to the heart. . . . The discontent of two millions of people deserves consideration, and its foundation should be removed. For the present I will only say that we should be cautious how we invade the liberties of any part of our fellow-subjects, however remote in situation, or unable to make resistance. Liberty is a plant that deserves to be cherished. I love the tree, and wish well to its branches, wherever they are.”¹

Said Camden, “I have suffered myself too long to be trammelled by the ministers of his Majesty. For some time I have beheld, with silent indignation, their arbitrary measures. I have often drooped and hung down my head in Council, and disapproved by my looks those steps which I knew my avowed opposition could not prevent. I will do so no longer, but openly and boldly speak my sentiments. I now proclaim to the world, that I entirely coincide in the opinion expressed by my noble friend, whose presence reanimates us, touching this illegal and unconstitutional vote.”² In the House of Commons, the ministry were condemned for having done everything without success. Barré exclaimed, “The people of England know, the people of Ireland know, and the American people *feel*, that the iron hand of ministerial despotism is lifted up against them; but it is not less formidable against the prince than against the people.” Lord North replied, “The trumpeters of sedition have pro-

¹ Parl. Debates, v. 127-181.

² Idem, v. 141-142.

duced the disaffection. The drunken ragamuffins of a vociferous mob are exalted into equal importance with men of judgment, of morals, and of property. I can never acquiesce in the absurd opinion that all men are equal. The contest in America, which at first might have been easily ended, is now for no less than sovereignty on one side and independence on the other.”¹

Meanwhile affairs in Boston had not peacefully progressed. Almost daily meetings were held, and the state of affairs was discussed. The merchants grew more and more refractory, and the relations between the soldiery and the public were of an exceedingly hostile nature. The murder of a young man, named Snider, during a mob on the 22d of February, was the prelude to scenes of greater violence. On the 2d of March a private of the twenty-ninth regiment sought employment at Gray's ropewalk, and was repulsed. He challenged to “fight any one;” the challenge was accepted by a workman, and the soldier was beaten. Several companions of the latter next engaged in the contest, and they too were driven off. Upon returning to their barracks, these fellows “inflamed each other's passions, as if the honor of the regiment were tarnished.” Through Saturday and Sunday they nourished their anger. Some days before one of their number had said, “I will never miss an opportunity of firing upon the inhabitants. I have wanted such an opportunity ever since I landed.”

On Monday, the 5th of March, there was a fall of snow; but towards evening the weather cleared up, and the moon shone brightly upon the earth. At an early hour “clusters of the inhabitants were observed in different quarters of the town,” and “parties of soldiers were driving about the

¹ Parl. Debates, v. 203, seq.

streets, as if the one and the other had something more than ordinary upon their minds." The nine o'clock bell sounded, as four young men were wending their way through Cornhill towards Dock Square. While passing the narrow lane, since known as Boylston's Alley, they were attacked by a soldier, brandishing a huge broadsword in his hand. The young men returned the blows; and a few moments later, other soldiers arrived, and a general fray ensued. Crowds of people filled the streets, and from every quarter the citizens, summoned by the ringing of the bells and by boisterous shouts of "Fire!" came rushing to the scene of strife. The tumult increased, and the rage of the soldiery became ungovernable. An attempt was made by a few prominent citizens to disperse the multitude, but without effect.

By this time thirty or more boys had assembled in King, now State, Street, and had begun to annoy the sentinel who stood at the door of the Custom House. On a sudden, a servant cried out, saying, "They are killing the sentinel; turn out the guard." At the command of Preston, a detachment of seven or eight soldiers, headed by a corporal, hastily posted themselves in a semicircle just west of the Custom House door, where they were immediately saluted with snowballs and missile weapons. "Stand off!" shouted Preston to the crowd; and finding that his words were unheeded, he ordered the soldiers to load and prime. "You are not going to fire?" asked several bystanders. "By no means, unless I am compelled to," was the reply. "For God's sake," said Knox, grasping at Preston's coat, "take your men back again; if they fire, your life must answer for the consequences." "I know what I am about," said Preston; but the agitation of his countenance belied his words.

After the soldiers had finished loading, a party of ten or a dozen citizens, with sticks in their hands, advanced, struck at the muskets, saying, "Come on, you rascals! you bloody backs! you lobster scoundrels! Fire, if you dare! You dare not fire!" A moment later, a voice cried, "Fire!" and one of the soldiers stepped forward and discharged his gun. Attucks, a negro, fell. The order was repeated, — and Samuel Gray fell. Other guns were discharged, and in all, three persons were killed, and eight were wounded. The successive firings attracted more citizens into the streets. The bells of all the churches were ringing the alarm, and the drums sounded, "To arms — to arms!" In the midst of the excitement, the governor was requested to order the troops to return to their barracks. "It is not in my power," he answered. "It lies with Colonel Dalrymple, and not with me. I will send for him, however." At length the troops were marched to the barracks, and the crowd was dispersed.

On the following morning the selectmen waited upon the governor, and informed him that a meeting of the citizens would shortly be held, and that nothing would satisfy them but a speedy removal of the troops. At eleven o'clock in the forenoon the citizens met, and appointed a committee of fifteen to proceed to the Council Chamber, to demand the removal of the troops. Hutchinson made a reply, saying, "I have consulted with the commanding officers. They have their orders from the general, at New York. It is not in my power to countermand those orders. The Council have desired the regiments to be removed; and Colonel Dalrymple has signified to me that the regiment of which he has the command shall, without delay, be placed in the barracks at the Castle, until he can send to the general and receive his

orders for both regiments. The main guard, he also assures me, shall be removed; and the fourteenth regiment shall be laid under such restraint that all occasion of future disturbances may be prevented.”¹

In the afternoon the meeting was adjourned from Faneuil Hall to the Old South Meeting House. “Make way for the committee!” was the shout which signified to the multitude the return of that special body. The committee read their report; and dissatisfaction was painted on the countenance of every listener. A second committee of seven was appointed to bear a final message to the governor. They found his Honor, as before, unable, or at least unwilling, to comply with the demand of the town meeting. “The troops are not subject to my authority; I have no power to remove them,” said the governor with firmness. “If you have power to remove one regiment,” replied Samuel Adams, whose frame trembled at the energy of his soul, “you have power to remove both. It is at your peril, if you refuse. The meeting is impatient. The country is in motion. Night is approaching; and your answer is expected.” The governor trembled under the steady gaze of the speaker, and his officers were likewise abashed. “It is impossible to go any further lengths in this matter,” said Colonel Dalrymple. “You must either comply, or determine to leave the province,” whispered Oliver. Thus advised, the governor yielded. The committee returned to the meeting, and the reading of their report gave the highest satisfaction.

On the 8th, the four victims of the “Boston Massacre” were buried with great ceremony. Most of the shops in the town were closed; and the church bells in Charlestown, Cambridge, and Roxbury were solemnly tolled whilst the

¹ *Boston News Letter*, March 15, 1770.

funeral procession marched through the main street to the middle burial ground, where the last rites were performed. It was a sad day for the people of Boston. "They well knew that exaggerated narratives of the affair would be published, and that no pains would be spared to insist upon harsher measures, and to justify high-minded attempts to enslave them. Yet, withal, there was a feeling in the breast of every one that, come what would, the province must on no account recede from its position."¹

Shortly after the fray of the 5th of March, a warrant had been issued for the arrest of Preston, and of the soldiers whom he had called out. The trial of Preston was held in October, and Josiah Quincy, Junior, was selected as one of his advocates. On the 30th of the month, the trial, of which no minutes exist, was concluded, with the acquittal of Preston. On the 27th of November the soldiers' trial was begun. They were ably defended by Quincy and John Adams. Of the accused, six were found "not guilty;" two, "guilty of manslaughter." These latter were "each of them burnt in the hand, in open court, and discharged."

Thus closed the direct result of the ever-memorable event of the 5th of March. In reviewing the circumstances attending the "massacre," one is disposed to censure as much the conduct of the citizens as of the soldiery. Both parties were, at the time, in a feverish state of excitement, and the tragedy was naturally to be expected from events that had already happened. Which side was the more to be blamed, it is difficult to say. Nor should Captain Preston be censured too severely. He may, or may not, have given the order to fire. The evidence against him was certainly not

¹ Barry, ii. 420.

conclusive ; and he himself personally denied having given any such order. The real blame in the whole affair is attached to those who sent the soldiery to Boston. Hillsborough and Bernard, — upon them must always rest the responsibility.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE PROGRESS OF THE STRUGGLE.

WHILST the victims of a massacre were falling in the streets of Boston, the American question was again under debate in the Parliament of Great Britain. The attention of the latter had been called by the "merchants and traders of London," to the "alarming suspense" into which commerce had fallen, and some relief was sought. Only a few weeks before, Lord North had been called to the position made vacant by the resignation of the Duke of Grafton, and he now stood as the first lord of the treasury.

When the petition of the merchants and traders was read in the House, Lord North arose. "He had favored," he said, "with the rest of the ministry, at the end of the last session, the circular letter to the governors of the colonies, promising to repeal, on certain commercial principles, that part of the law which was repugnant to them; that he did this as a persuasive to bring them back to their duty, by a measure which would not at the same time relax the reins of government over them; and he could have wished to repeal the whole, if it could have been done without giving up such absolute right. But he was sorry to say that the behavior of the Americans had by no means been such as to merit this favor, their resolutions being more violent this summer than ever; neither did he think a total repeal would by any means quell the troubles there;

as experience had shown that to lay taxes when America was quiet, and repeal them when America was in flames, only added fresh claims to those people on every occasion; and now, as they totally denied the power of Great Britain to tax them, it became more absolutely necessary to compel the observance of the laws, to vindicate the rights of Parliament."¹ Lord North then asked leave to "bring in a bill to repeal the tax act as far as related to the tax on paper, glass, and painters' colors."

Pownall, who had been governor of the province, and knew well whereof he spoke, defended the petition, and moved that the tax might be removed from tea. "I do not argue this repeal," he said, "as asking a favor for the Americans; they do not now ask the repeal as a favor. Nor do I move in this matter as seeking redress of a grievance complained of by them; they have not complained to Parliament, nor do they come for redress. Although they feel deeply, they suffer and endure with a determined and alarming silence. They are under no apprehension for their liberty. They remember that it was planted under the auspicious genius of this constitution; it hath taken root, and they have seen it grow up, under the Divine blessing, to a fair and blooming tree. And should any severe strokes of fate again and again prune it down to the bare stock, it would only strike the deeper and the stronger. It would not, perhaps, rise in so straight and fair a form, but it would prove the more hardy and durable. They trust, therefore, to Providence; nor will they complain."

Conway favored the repeal of "the whole of the present act;" and Barré, also, was for "the whole repeal." When

¹ Parl. Debates, v. 253-255: Mahon's Hist. of Eng., v. 265.

the vote was taken, the repeal was lost, so far as the article of tea was concerned, though carried on the other points. Nothing was more plain than that the ministers were obstinate, and their conduct impolitic.

In Massachusetts, the General Court was waging a fierce controversy with Hutchinson. On the 15th of March the latter had convened the legislature at Cambridge, "much against their will." Their petition that the assembly should be restored "to its ancient place, the Court House in Boston," was firmly disregarded by the governor. Finding him inflexible, the House resolved: "We proceed to business under this grievance, only from *absolute necessity*,—hereby protesting against the illegality of holding the assembly as aforesaid, and ordering this our protest to be entered on our journals, to the end that the same may not be drawn into precedent at any time hereafter." In his messages to the Court, the governor took no notice of the tragedy of the 5th of March, but spoke freely of certain disturbances of minor importance. To his charge of "riots and tumults," the House replied, "It may justly be said of the people of this province that they seldom, if ever, have assembled in a tumultuous manner, unless they have been oppressed. It cannot be expected that a people accustomed to the freedom of the English constitution, will be patient under the hand of tyranny and arbitrary power. They will discover their resentment in a manner which will naturally displease their oppressors. And, in such case, the severest laws and the most rigorous execution will be to little or no purpose. The most effectual method to restore tranquillity would be to remove their burdens, and to punish all those who have been the procurers of their oppression."¹

¹ Hutchinson, iii. 283, seq.

Affairs became so entangled that, in May, a warm debate took place in the House of Commons. On the motion of William Burke, seventeen resolves were reported in the House, condemning the measures of the ministry. All but one of these resolves, however, were negatived. On the 18th of the month Burke's resolves were read in the House of Lords, and the Duke of Richmond severely censured the recent conduct of Hillsborough, upon whom he charged all the late disorders. Hillsborough, taken utterly by surprise, rose to his feet. He knew, he said, that he stood on slippery ground, and was responsible for having quartered the troops in Boston. "Adjourn! adjourn!" cried his friends, anticipating a collision. But the Marquis of Rockingham had gained the floor, and was quickly followed by Lord Temple. "How have the promises relative to America been complied with?" asked the latter. "I must confess," he added, "that these promises have been performed in a most singular manner, and that the business of the government has been done in a style still more singular, — a style which reminds me of the French gasconade, —

'The King of France, with forty thousand men,
Marched up the hill, and so marched down again.'

But in the House of Lords the resolves were rejected, and the weight of authority still rested on the side of the ministry.

A new General Court convened at Cambridge on the last Wednesday in May. At the opening of the session, the House said to the governor, "The Town House in Boston is the *only place* where the General Court is to be convened and held. We do not conceive that it is in your Honor's

discretion to remove it to this or to any other place ; nor does the prerogative of the crown extend so far as to suffer you to exercise power to the injury of the people. We therefore esteem it our indispensable duty, before proceeding to the business of this assembly, to remonstrate against its being held in any other place than the Town House in Boston." Hutchinson, finding all his hopes blasted, prorogued the assembly to the 25th of June, and then to the following September.

Meanwhile preparations were going on for establishing martial law in Massachusetts. An order was issued closing the port of Boston, and placing the custody of the Castle in the hands of Dalrymple and the king's troops. The controversy with the governor still continued, and with no signs of an abatement. The time had come for action of some sort, while delay served only to augment the disturbance. It was said in England that the colonies were on the eve of a revolt. Hutchinson and Hillsborough understood each other, and were working in conjunction. "No more time should be lost in deliberation," said the latter. "If the kingdom is united and resolved," wrote the former, "I have but very little doubt we shall be as tame as lambs." By choosing Franklin as the new agent of the province, it was hoped that the difficulties of the situation might soon be overcome.

For a few months quiet reigned in the province. In March, 1771, Hutchinson received his full commission as successor of Bernard. He was now the governor of Massachusetts, and the goal of his ambition was fairly reached. He looked about him in search of opponents. Otis was shattered in intellect ; John Adams had withdrawn from public life ; but Samuel Adams, Bowdoin, Cushing, Haw-

ley, Warren, and Phillips remained strong in purpose and zeal. On the 3d of April the General Court convened at Cambridge, and in his opening address the governor pledged to acquiesce "in such measures as might tend completely to restore and constantly to maintain that state of order and tranquillity upon which the prosperity of the province depended."¹ The Court paid but little consideration to the address, and persisted in the desire to be removed to Boston. Samuel Adams ventured to move that "the House should come into a resolve to do no business except in the town of Boston;" but Otis, who represented the town in the place of John Adams, opposed the motion, and after some debate it was negatived.

Samuel Adams, whose thirst for independence was branded as an "original sin," now began to reflect upon a general union of the colonies. "It would be an arduous task," he said, "to awaken a sufficient number to so grand an undertaking. Nothing, however, should be despaired of. The tragedy of American freedom is nearly completed. A tyranny seems to be at the very door. Yet the liberties of our country are worth defending at all hazards. If we should suffer them to be wrested from us, millions yet unborn may be the miserable sharers in the event. Every step has been taken but one; and the LAST APPEAL would require prudence, unanimity, and fortitude. America must herself, under God, finally work out her own salvation."² Cushing, likewise, declared for union, and urged that "the assemblies ought to keep a watchful eye upon their liberties."

Nothing of importance transpired during the winter and spring; but in the summer of 1772 new difficulties arose,

¹ Bradford's State Papers, 294.

² Boston Gazette, for Oct. 14, 1771.

occasioned by a dispute relative to the salary of the governor. The latter was enraged, and wrote to Hillsborough, saying that, "if the nation would arouse and unite in measures to retain the colonies in subordination, all this new doctrine of independence would be disavowed, and its first inventors be sacrificed to the rage of the people whom they had deluded." To this strain the secretary replied that the king, "with the entire concurrence of Lord North, had made provision for the support of his law servants in the Massachusetts Bay." This was the last official act of Hillsborough. He fell from his office, and the young and amiable Earl of Dartmouth became secretary for the colonies.

"We must now strike a home blow," said the Boston patriots, "or the chains of tyranny are riveted upon us." Then followed the step, "which included the whole revolution;" and Samuel Adams moved, in a town meeting held in Boston, "that a committee of correspondence be appointed, to consist of twenty-one persons, to state the rights of the colonists, and of this province in particular, as men and Christians, and as subjects; and to communicate and publish the same to the several towns and to the world, as the sense of this town, with the infringements and violations thereof that have been, or from time to time may be, made." The motion prevailed; and a committee, with Otis as chairman, was appointed. Thus was laid the foundation for American Union.

After the committee was organized, Samuel Adams was instructed to prepare a statement of the rights of the colonies; Joseph Warren, a statement of the violations of those rights; and Benjamin Church, to draught a letter to the several towns in the province. On the 20th of November the Boston committee made their report in a spirited and

unequivocal manner. Such was its effect, together with that of the circular letter, that before the spring opened committees of correspondence were everywhere established. The response of the several towns was unanimously in favor of defending all rights and liberties. Hutchinson, in terror, invoked the aid of Parliament. "This unhappy contest," said Samuel Adams, "will end in rivers of blood; but America may wash her hands in innocence."

The relations of the colonies to the Parliament of Great Britain were fully discussed, and several spirited messages passed between the General Court and the governor. "I stand amazed at the governor," wrote John Adams in his diary, "for forcing on this controversy. He will not be thanked for this. His ruin and destruction must spring out of it, either from the ministry and Parliament, on the one hand, or from his countrymen. He has reduced himself to a most ridiculous state of distress."¹ At the same time the governor endeavored to conceal his chagrin, and still insisted that "Parliament would, by some means or other, maintain its supremacy."² From the beginning to the end of the controversy, Hutchinson seems to have been adverse to the adoption of any conciliatory measures, and to have wished only to be subservient to the crown.

The project of raising a revenue from America was again debated. The colonial tax of threepence on the pound was still assessed on tea; and Lord North declared that this should not be abandoned. But already the colonists had voted to import no more tea; and even the wives and daughters of the yeomanry of Massachusetts had cheerfully agreed to abstain from the use of tea altogether. When the tidings arrived that London merchants were preparing to ship tea

¹ *Works*, ii. 315.

² *Bancroft*, vi. 453.

to America, the papers of the day declared that, "whoever should purchase and use this article would drink political damnation to themselves."¹ The excitement of the hour was immense. "When our liberty is gone," said Samuel Adams, "history and experience will teach us that an increase of inhabitants is but an increase of slaves;" and with his usual eloquence he urged "a plan of union proposed by Virginia."

On the 3d of November, 1773, at an early hour, a flag was suspended from Liberty Tree, and at noon, five hundred persons assembled. Hither the agents of the East India Company had been summoned to resign their commissions. But they failed to appear, and a special committee was appointed to wait upon them at their stores. The warehouse of Richard Clarke, in King Street, was first visited. "From whom are you a committee?" asked Clarke. "From the whole people," was the reply. "And who are the committee?" "I am one," responded Molineux, who acted as spokesman. "What is your request?" "That you give us your word to sell none of the teas in your charge, but return them to London in the same bottoms in which they were shipped. Are you ready to comply?" "I shall have nothing to do with you," was the response. Similar scenes, with similar results, occurred at other stores.²

On the 5th, the citizens met in Faneuil Hall. John Hancock was chosen moderator; and a series of resolves was voted, prohibiting the sale of the Company's teas. On the following day the meeting was continued, and a letter from Hutchinson, "daringly effrontive to the town," was read. Meanwhile information came that the tea ships had actually sailed, and might soon be expected. On the 18th, the citi-

¹ Bradford, i. 298.

² Bancroft, vi. 473, 474.

zens reassembled, and the consignees were again requested to resign. "We have received no orders from the East India Company respecting the teas," they replied; "our friends in England have entered into general engagements in our behalf, merely of a commercial nature, which puts it out of our power to comply with the request of the town."¹ The agents refused, therefore, to resign, and applied to the governor for aid. But the Council declined acting on the petition, and the merchants were left to shift for themselves.

On the 22d, the committees of Boston, Roxbury, Dorchester, Brookline, and Cambridge met in convention in Faneuil Hall. The question was put, "Whether it be the mind of this committee to use their joint influence to prevent the landing and sale of the teas exported from the East India Company?" An affirmative response being given, a circular letter was sent to the other towns, soliciting their concurrence. Four days later, Cambridge moved that, "as it is very apparent that the town of Boston is now struggling for the liberties of the country, it is therefore resolved, that this town can no longer stand idle spectators, but are ready, on the shortest notice, to join with the town of Boston and other towns in any measure that may be thought proper to deliver ourselves and posterity from slavery." On the next day Charlestown imitated this example.

On the 28th, Sunday, one of the ships, laden with one hundred and fourteen chests of tea, arrived in Boston harbor. On the following day, at nine o'clock, Faneuil Hall was filled with citizens. So great was the concourse, that an adjournment was made to the Old South Meeting House. Jonathan Williams was chosen moderator, and the proceedings of the meeting were conducted in full harmony. At the instance

¹ Hutchinson, iii. 426.

of Samuel Adams, it was resolved, that "the tea should be sent back to the place from whence it came, at all events, and that no duty should be paid on it." The consignees requested time "for consultation," which was granted; and a watch of twenty-five persons was appointed to guard the "Dartmouth" — such was the name of the ship — during the night. The next morning, the consignees promised to store the teas until otherwise advised; and a proclamation from the governor warned the crowd to disperse. After having exacted from the master and owner of the ship a promise that the teas should be returned, and having voted to carry into effect their former resolves, "at the risk of their lives and properties," the assembly adjourned. Meanwhile the other ships arrived, and the crisis drew near.

At ten by the clock on the morning of the eventful 16th of December, the citizens, with two thousand from the country, again met in the Old South. It was reported that Rotch, the owner of the Dartmouth, had been refused a clearance. "Shall we abide by our resolutions?" it was asked. Adams and Young said "Yes." Quincy, however, advised discretion. "Our hands have been put to the plough," cried the people; "we must not look back." Without delay, seven thousand people voted to prevent the landing of the tea.¹

The Old South was dimly lighted. It had been dark an hour, when Rotch appeared, and reported that the governor had refused him a pass. Whilst a momentary silence reigned, Samuel Adams arose and said, "This meeting can do nothing more to save the country." Instantly a loud shout was heard, and forty or fifty men, disguised as Indians, rushed out of the porch of the Old South, hurried to Griffin's Wharf, took possession of the three tea ships, and there, breaking

¹ Hutchinson, iii. 435, seq.

open the chests, poured their contents into the sea. This work was conducted with perfect order; and when the deed was done, the patriots, rejoicing at the success of their enterprise, retired to their homes. "This," wrote Hutchinson, "was the boldest stroke which had yet been struck in America."¹ "This," wrote Adams, "is the most magnificent movement of all. There is a dignity, a majesty, a sublimity in this last effort of the patriots that I greatly admire. The people should never rise without doing something to be remembered. The destruction of the tea is so bold, so daring, so firm, intrepid, and inflexible, and it must have so important consequences, and so lasting, that I cannot but consider it an epocha in history."²

The governor knew not what to do, and was almost in a state of frenzy. The House were against him, the Council were against him, while the committees of correspondence were more elate than ever. On the 26th of January, 1774, was held a meeting of the Court. The governor, in his address, spoke disapprovingly of the appointment of committees of correspondence. The House rejoined that, "while the common rights of the American subjects continued to be attacked, at times when the several assemblies were not sitting, it was highly necessary that they should correspond with each other, in order to unite in the most effectual means for the obtaining a redress of their grievances."³

On the 7th of March the destruction of the tea at Boston was communicated to both Houses of Parliament by an address from the throne. Some days later a bill was brought in for the punishment of Boston. "You cannot," said Rose Fuller, "carry this bill into execution without a military force. But if you send over a small number of men, the

¹ Hist., iii. 489.

² Works, ix. 333.

³ Bradford's State Papers, 411, seq.

Boston militia will immediately cut them to pieces ; if you send over a larger number, six or seven thousand, the Americans will debauch them ; and by these means we shall only hurt ourselves. I would begin by an amercement." "We must proceed to some immediate remedy," said Lord North. "Now is our time to stand out, to defy them, to proceed with firmness, and without fear. They will never reform until we take a measure of this kind. I hope this act will not, in any shape, require a military force to put it into execution. Four or five frigates will do the business, without any military force. But if the consequences of disobedience are likely to produce rebellion, these consequences belong to them, and not to us. It is not what we have brought on, but what they alone have occasioned. We are only answerable that our measures are just and equitable. Let us, then, proceed with firmness, justice, and resolution." The voice of Barré thundered through the hall, "Keep your hands out of the pockets of the Americans, and they will be obedient subjects. Parliament may fancy they have rights in theory, which, I'll answer for, they can never reduce to practice." During the ensuing discussion, Dowdeswell, Pownall, and Edmund Burke defended the Americans. But the measures of the king and the ministers were not to be changed ; and on the 29th the Bill, closing the port of Boston, passed the House of Lords unanimously.¹

In April another bill was passed by Parliament, by which the executive power was wrested from the House of Representatives, and the Council made elective by the crown. The royal governor was to have the power to appoint and to remove all judges ; and juries were to be nominated only

¹ Parl. Deb., vii. 86-104. Bancroft, vi. 518, seq.

by the sheriffs. Town meetings could be convoked only by the will of the governor, and no subjects could be discussed, in the town meetings, that were not approved by him. In case any person should be indicted for a capital offence, the governor was empowered, at his discretion, to send such persons to England for trial. At the same time it was ordered that Samuel Adams, "the chief of the revolution," should be arrested, and that proceedings against him should be instituted without further delay.

On the 17th of May, General Gage arrived in Boston, and was cordially welcomed by all the officers of government, the selectmen, and "a number of other gentlemen." On the same day his commission was publicly read as civil governor and commander-in-chief, and the oath of office was administered by the president of the Council. Hutchinson was now superseded, and martial law was fully established in Boston. "Shall the Boston Port Bill be enforced?" was the question propounded by General Gage. Hutchinson, the admiral, and the commissioners of customs agreed that it should be carried into effect. On the 1st of June the bill went into effect; the courts were suspended, and the custom-house was closed. While the church bells tolled in mourning, Hutchinson and his family sailed for England, never more to return. Before the summer had closed four regiments of troops were quartered in the town, and an additional force had been ordered from other localities.

Meanwhile a discussion had been carried on in the General Court, and a plan of union had been matured. On the 17th of June the governor was informed of these proceedings, and commissioned his secretary to dissolve the Court. But the House took no notice of the message. On

the same day the citizens again assembled in Faneuil Hall, and, with John Adams in the chair, voted that the committee of correspondence be "enjoined forthwith to write to all the other colonies, acquainting them that we are not idle; that we are deliberating upon the steps to be taken in the present exigencies of our public affairs; that our brethren, the landed interest of this province, with an unexampled spirit and unanimity, are entering into a non-consumption agreement; and that we are waiting with anxious expectation for the result of a CONTINENTAL CONGRESS, whose meeting we impatiently desire, in whose wisdom and firmness we confide, and in whose determinations we shall cheerfully acquiesce."¹ From this time onward the patriots were in earnest. Every attention was paid to military discipline, and preparations for a final contest with Great Britain were daily going on. Throughout the whole province people "were never more firm and zealous, and they looked to the last extremity with spirit and resolution." In places where government influence most prevailed, nothing was to be "seen or heard of except the purchasing of arms and ammunition, the casting of balls, and the making of all those preparations which testify the most immediate danger and determined resistance."²

The position of Gage was not one to be envied. His excessive arrogance and superciliousness rendered his presence more obnoxious than even that of Bernard. He was "neither fit to reconcile nor to subdue. By his mild temper and love of society he gained the good will of his own companions, and escaped personal enmities, but in earnest busi-

¹ Boston News Letter for June 23, 1774.

² Gordon's Am. Rev., i. 249.

ness he inspired neither confidence nor fear. He had promised the king that with four regiments he would play the 'lion,' and troops beyond his requisition were hourly expected. His instructions enjoined upon him the seizure and condign punishment of Samuel Adams, Hancock, Joseph Warren, and other leading patriots; but he stood in such dread of them that he never so much as attempted their arrest."¹

Public meetings and county conventions continued to be held almost daily. In vain did the governor seek to disperse these meetings and to protect the courts; and, as his next step, he attempted to secure all the cannon and powder of the province. On the 1st of September a royal detachment marched to the powder-house on Quarry Hill, in Somerville, and carried off all its contents. Several field pieces were captured in Cambridge and taken to Castle William. These seizures roused the whole province, and kindled a flame which could not easily be quenched. In terror, Gage resolved to erect fortifications on the Neck, which commanded the entrance to the town of Boston. By the 9th of September two twenty-four pounders and eight nine pounders had been mounted in this locality, and a body of troops stationed to keep watch.

Whilst these hostile preparations were in progress, the Continental Congress assembled at Carpenter's Hall in Philadelphia. It was on the 5th of September. Peyton Randolph, of Virginia, was chosen president. The most eminent and influential men in America were present, and all of them were impressed with the importance of the business which they were called upon to transact. After the convention had opened with prayer, Patrick Henry, the great

¹ Bancroft, vii. 38.

Demosthenes of his day, arose and addressed his constituents. He recounted the rights of the people, and wherein they had been infringed; and Henry Lee took up the thread of the story, and charmed the senses of his hearers with exquisite imagery. Three weeks were spent in reading addresses, appointing committees, and getting ready for business. On the 27th it was resolved, "that from and after the first day of December next there be no importation into British America, from Great Britain or Ireland, of any goods, wares, or merchandise whatever, or from any other place of any such goods, wares, or merchandises as shall have been exported from Great Britain or Ireland; and that no such goods, &c., imported after the said first day of December next shall be used or purchased."¹ A resolve was passed, three days later, that, "from and after the tenth day of September, 1775, the exportation of all merchandise, and every commodity whatsoever, to Great Britain, Ireland, and the West Indies, ought to cease, unless the grievances of America are redressed before that time."

In the following month a loyal address to the king was prepared; a declaration of rights, embodied in eleven articles, was passed, and able addresses to the peoples of England and of Canada were draughted and sent. After a session of seven weeks, the Congress was dissolved. "The world has hardly ever seen," it was written at the time, "any assembly that had matters of greater consequence before them, that were chosen in a more honorable manner, were better qualified for the high trust reposed in them, executed it in a more faithful, judicious, and effectual manner, or were more free and unanimous in their con-

¹ Journal Cont. Cong., i. 21.

clusions, than this. Their proceedings are all drawn with a masterly hand; the expediency of every adopted measure is clearly pointed out; and the whole plan is so well calculated, so tempered with goodness and wisdom, with mildness and resolution, so guarded by precedence and supported by reason, that in all probability it can hardly fail of the desired effect.”¹

While the Congress was yet in session, a hostile fleet lay in the harbor of Boston, and a hostile army was parading its streets. The port was closed, the wharves were deserted; but the “Sons of Liberty” knew no despair. From every hearthstone the song arose, —

“ Boston, be not dismayed!
Though tyrants now oppress,
Though fleets and troops invade,
You soon will have redress;
The resolution of the brave
Will injured Massachusetts save.”

The whole people were preparing to make an armed resistance to British aggression; but such was the quiet which everywhere prevailed, that Gage and his officers began to flatter themselves that faction was subdued.

On the 7th of October the General Court of Massachusetts was convened at Salem. From this time onward the members constituted a PROVINCIAL CONGRESS, of which John Hancock was chosen president. On the 17th, a letter from the governor warned them of the “rock they were upon,” and commanded them to “desist from such illegal and unconstitutional proceedings.” One of the earliest measures of this Congress was to provide for the organization

¹ Boston Evening Post, for Nov. 14th.

² Frothingham's Siege of Boston, 39.

of a militia, and for the increase of the quantity of war-like stores. The towns in the province were advised to "see that each of the *minute-men*, not already provided therewith, should be immediately equipped with an effective fire-arm, bayonet, pouch, knapsack, and thirty rounds of cartridge and balls, and be disciplined three times a week, and oftener as opportunity may offer."¹ Other matters were taken up, and after providing for calling a future Congress, the assembly was dissolved.

When the new year opened, thirty-five hundred of the king's troops were garrisoned in Boston. Gage wrote vauntingly to Dartmouth that, "if a respectable force is seen in the field, the most obnoxious of the leaders seized, and a pardon proclaimed for all others, government will come off victorious, and with less opposition than was expected a few months ago."² But Gage had fallen behind the truth, and had miscalculated the strength and will of his opponents. Once at Marshfield, and a second time at Salem, Gage, by the presence of a military force, sought to bring the patriots to terms of allegiance. Their vigilance, however, thwarted all his plans.

About this time, Josiah Quincy, Junior, who had recently arrived in London, was attending the debates in Parliament. Hutchinson and Bernard were both urging "measures against America," and giving the "most positive assurances of success." Lord North had said, "We must try what we can do to support the authority we have claimed over America; if we are defective in power, we must sit down contented, and make the best terms we can."³ Said the Earl of Chatham, in the House of Lords, "The hour of danger

¹ Journal Prov. Cong., 33., seq.

² Gordon, i. 283.

³ Sparks, Washington, iii. 507.

must arrive; unless these fatal acts of the last session are done away, it must arrive in all its horrors. There ought, therefore, to be no delay in this matter; we should proceed to it immediately. But it is not merely repealing these acts that can win back America to your bosom. You must repeal her fears and her resentments; and you may then hope for her love and gratitude. We shall be forced ultimately to retract; let us retract while we can, not when we must. Whoever advises the enforcement of these acts must do so at his peril. They must be repealed; you will repeal them; I pledge myself for it, that you will, in the end, repeal them. I stake my reputation on it. I will consent to be taken for an idiot if they are not finally repealed. Repeal, therefore, my lords; REPEAL, I say! Thus will you convince America that you mean to try her cause in the spirit and by the laws of freedom and fair inquiry, and not by codes of blood. How can she trust you, with the bayonet at her breast? She has all the reason in the world to believe you mean her death or bondage. Avoid, then, this humiliating, disgraceful necessity. To conclude, if the ministers thus persevere in misadvising and misleading the king, I will not say that they can alienate the affections of his subjects from the crown, but I will affirm that, the American jewel out of it, they will make the crown not worth his wearing. I will not say that the king is betrayed; but I will say that the nation is ruined.”¹

Camden, Shelburne, and Rockingham coincided with the views expressed by Chatham. Most of the manufacturing towns in the kingdom also entertained similar opinions. But the ministers were opposed to any such reconciliation. Instead of recalling the troops, they were for sending out

¹ Gordon, *Am. Rev.*, I. 286-290.

more if necessary. "I will have America at my feet," was the motto of Lord North. When, finally, the question was taken, but fifteen favored the motion of repeal, while sixty-eight opposed it. Some days later Chatham sought again to arouse the nation to a sense of its danger, but in vain. Reconciliation was not to be thought of; and the friends of America were powerless to avert the impending struggle. "Your countrymen," wrote they, "must seal their cause with their blood. They must not delay. They must resist, or be trodden down into the vilest vassalage — the scorn, the spurn of their enemies, a byword of infamy among all men."¹ The time for heroic valor was already at hand; the signal had been given; the watchfires of the revolution were kindled. The day-star of Liberty was soon to rise upon America.

¹ Gordon, i. 284.

CHAPTER XIV.

LEXINGTON AND CONCORD.

IN pursuance of a just policy, and in anticipation of an early collision with Great Britain, the committees of safety and supplies had collected and deposited at Concord large quantities of military stores. About the middle of March, 1775, it was rumored that General Gage was determined to destroy them; and a guard was accordingly stationed for their security, and messengers were engaged in Charlestown, Cambridge, and Roxbury to give the alarm should any such attempt be made. At this time Gage had under his command, in Boston and vicinity, no less than four thousand troops; and it was well known that Generals Howe, Clinton, and Burgoyne had been ordered to join him. Neither of these commanders had any confidence in the gallantry and strength of the provincials; but regarded them as cowards, easily intimidated and subdued. How different was the spirit that animated the patriots! "The people," wrote Cushing, "are not dismayed. Should the administration determine to carry into execution the late acts by military force, they will make the last appeal. They are determined life and liberty shall go together." Warren wrote, "America must and will be free. The contest may be severe,—the end will be glorious. We would not boast, but we think, united and prepared as we are, we have no reason to doubt of success, if we should be compelled to make the last appeal; but we mean not to

make that appeal until we can be justified in doing it in the sight of God and man."¹

Towards the middle of April a doubt no longer prevailed that General Gage was bent upon destroying the magazines collected at Concord; for on the pretence of learning a new military exercise, the grenadiers and light infantry were relieved from duty, and at night the boats belonging to the transport ships were launched and moored under cover of the men-of-war. Joseph Warren sent tidings of these suspicious movements to Hancock and Samuel Adams, who were in Lexington; and without delay the committee of safety took additional measures for the security of the stores, and even removed a portion of them to Sudbury and Groton.

On Tuesday, the 18th, a dozen British officers, acting upon Gage's orders, stationed themselves on the roads leading out of Boston, for the purpose of interrupting expresses sent out to alarm the country. That day the committee of safety met at Wetherby's tavern, in West Cambridge, now Arlington. Three of the committee, Gerry, Orne, and Lee, passed the night at the tavern; two others, Devens and Watson, rode over towards Charlestown; but meeting several mounted officers on the way, they returned to warn their friends. A message was at once despatched to Hancock and Adams to acquaint them of what was going on, and the receipt of these tidings caused the people of Lexington to adopt precautionary measures. When Devens arrived in Charlestown, he was told that the British troops were in motion in Boston. A few moments later a lantern was displayed by Paul Revere in the upper window of the tower of the North Church in Boston, — the signal of danger which had been agreed upon.

¹ Frothingham's *Siege of Boston*, 53, seq.

Meanwhile Gage was perfecting his plans in secret, as he supposed. Lord Percy alone was in his confidence. In the evening the latter strolled through the Common. "The British troops have marched, but will miss their aim!" said one of a group of men whom he passed. "What aim?" asked Lord Percy. "Why, the cannon at Concord." Gage was notified of the conversation; and he at once gave orders that no one should leave town. About eleven o'clock, however, Paul Revere rowed across the river to Charlestown, secured a horse, and started to alarm the country.

"A hurry of hoofs in a village street,
A shape in the moonlight, a bulk in the dark,
And beneath from the pebbles, in passing, a spark
Struck out by a steed flying fearless and fleet:
That was all! And yet, through the gloom and the light,
The fate of a nation was riding that night;
And the spark struck out by that steed, in his flight,
Kindled the land into flame with its heat."

Revere passed through Medford, and about midnight, arrived in Lexington, at the house of the Rev. Jonas Clark, where Hancock and Adams were stopping. Upon requesting admission, he was told by one of the guard stationed near the house that the family, before retiring, had requested that they might not be disturbed by any noise. "Noise!" replied the hero of Middlesex; "you'll have noise enough before long; the regulars are coming." Revere was admitted; and shortly afterwards William Dawes rode up, with the tidings that "a large body of the king's troops, supposed to be a brigade of twelve or fifteen hundred, had embarked in boats from Boston, and gone over to Lechmere's Point, in Cambridge, and it was suspected they were ordered to seize and destroy the stores belonging to the colony, deposited at Concord."

About one o'clock the hardy and independent yeomanry

of Lexington were aroused ; and an hour later, the militia were assembled on the common. Captain John Parker was in command ; the roll was called, and the men, one hundred and thirty in number, were ordered to load with powder and ball. The night being chilly, they were then dismissed, most of them going into Buckman's tavern. Meanwhile the regulars were within a mile and a half of the Lexington meeting-house, and were still swiftly approaching. At half past four in the morning, Captain Parker ordered the drum to beat, alarm guns to be fired, and the company to form into position. A little later, Major Pitcairn, with six companies of light infantry, came in sight. He halted a moment, ordered his troops to "prime and load," and then to march forward in double-quick time. Captain Parker saw that it would be useless to contend against this superior force, and immediately commanded his own men not to fire unless they were fired upon. Just then Colonel Smith, Major Pitcairn, and another officer rode forward, and when within a few rods of the militia, one of them cried out, "Ye villains, ye rebels, disperse !" Major Pitcairn shouted, "Lay down your arms, damn you ! Why don't you lay down your arms ?" and he immediately discharged his pistol towards the few men before him, as they were retreating. The patriots would not obey ; whereupon Colonel Smith, brandishing his sword, advanced and gave the order in a loud voice, "Fire ! by God, fire !" The first guns, few in number, did no execution ; but a general discharge which followed brought eighteen Americans to the ground, eight of whom were killed. Such was the result of the bloody massacre on Lexington Common. The British troops re-formed, fired another volley, and gave three loud huzzas in token of their savage butchery. Colonel Smith, with the remainder of his force, soon joined Pitcairn,

and the whole detachment pushed on towards Concord, a distance of about six miles.

Meanwhile the alarm had spread in Concord. Dr. Samuel Prescott, a warm patriot, had roused the whole people, and the committee of safety, the military officers, and prominent citizens were assembled for consultation. The road from Lexington to Concord entered from the south-east, along the side of a hill which commences on the right of it about a mile below the village, rises abruptly from thirty to fifty feet above the road, and terminates at the north-easterly part of the square. The top forms a plain, which commands a view of the town. On this plain was the liberty pole; and near the present county-house stood the court-house. The main branch of the Concord River flows sluggishly on the westerly and northerly side of the village, about half a mile from its centre. Two bridges crossed this river, — one called the Old South Bridge, the other, by the Rev. William Emerson's, called the Old North Bridge. Beyond the latter, the road conducted to Colonel James Barrett's, about two miles from the centre of the town.

The first man in Concord that made his appearance after the alarm was sounded, was the Rev. William Emerson, with his gun in hand. By three o'clock everybody was awake in the village. Some of the inhabitants and a few of the militia, under the leadership of Colonel Barrett, were engaged in removing the military stores into the woods and by places for safety; while the minute-men were stationed as guards at the North and South bridges, and at other points. In case of alarm, it was agreed to meet at Amos Wright's tavern, — a building still in existence.

It was a little before seven o'clock in the morning, when the British were seen marching toward town. It was a

lovely morning; the fruit trees were in blossom, and the grass and grain had grown sufficiently high to wave with the wind. On the hill near the liberty pole stood a small band of Americans, consisting of Concord, Acton, and Lincoln men, under the command of Captain George Minot. When the British, in overwhelming numbers, had arrived within a few rods' distance, the Americans fell back to an eminence, about eighty rods in the rear, and formed "into two battalions." "Let us stand our ground," said William Emerson; "if we die, let us die here."

The British troops marched into Concord in two divisions, — one by the main road, and the other on the hill north of it, from which the Americans had just retired. The centre of the town was soon occupied by Colonel Smith with the grenadiers. Captain Parsons, with six light companies, marched to the North Bridge, where he left three companies under the command of Captain Laurie, and then, with the remaining three, proceeded to the residence of Colonel Barrett. Captain Pole was sent to secure the South Bridge. The British were not very successful in the work of destruction. In the centre of the town, however, they broke open nearly sixty barrels of flour, knocked off the trunnions of three cannon, burnt sixteen new carriage wheels, and set fire to the court-house. Many valuable stores were concealed, and saved by the shrewdness of the citizens.

When the troops appeared at the door of the dwelling of Captain Timothy Wheeler, the miller, the latter received them in a friendly manner. He asked them to sit down, to refresh themselves with bread and cheese and cider, which they did. Soon after the soldiers went out, and were about to break open the corn-house. Captain Wheeler begged them not to split the door, as he would himself freely open

it. "Gentlemen," said he, "I am a miller. I improve those mills yonder, by which I get my living, and every gill of this flour," — at the same time planting his hand on a bag of flour that was really his own, — "I raised and manufactured on my own farm, and it is all my own. This is my storehouse. I keep my flour here until such time as I can make a market for it." "Well, I believe you are a pretty honest old chap, and don't look as if you would hurt anybody, and we won't meddle with you," responded the officer; and he ordered his men to march on.

Already the British troops had been in Concord nearly two hours; and in the mean time the militia of Concord and Lincoln, joined by their brethren from Carlisle, Chelmsford, Westford, Littleton, and Acton, in all about four hundred and fifty in number, had assembled on the high grounds, near the North Bridge, and were formed in line by Joseph Hosmer, acting adjutant. The purpose of the Americans was to dislodge the guard at the North Bridge. It was a hazardous undertaking; but anxious apprehensions failed to weaken valor. "I haven't a man that's afraid to go," remarked the brave Captain Isaac Davis, of Acton. A brief consultation of officers took place; after which, Colonel Barrett ordered the militia to march to the bridge, and to pass it, but not to fire until they were fired upon. The companies advanced, under the command of Major John Buttrick, in double file and with trailed arms.

As soon as the British guard, stationed near the west end of the bridge, discovered the approach of the provincials, they crossed the bridge, and took up a position on the east side of the river, as if for a fight. Presently the Americans neared the scene of action, and placed themselves in close proximity to the bridge. On the instant one of the regulars,

a sharpshooter, stepped from the ranks and fired his musket. The discharge was immediately followed by a volley, which killed Captain Isaac Davis and Abner Hosmer, and wounded others. On seeing the effect of the fire, Major Buttrick turned to his men, and exclaimed impetuously, "Fire, fellow-soldiers! for God's sake, fire!" The firing lasted but a few minutes, when the British broke and fled in great confusion. Although hotly pursued by the provincials, they succeeded in joining the main body in the centre of the town.

By this time the old drums that had beat at Louisburg and Quebec were sounding on all the roads leading to Concord. "Now the war has begun," said Noah Parkhurst, of Lincoln, to a comrade, "and no one knows when it will end." The short and sharp action at the North Bridge changed the position of affairs in Concord. From seven o'clock in the morning the British had held possession of the town; but with the first shot the Americans had assumed the offensive.

At half past ten, probably, Colonel Smith concentrated his entire force in the centre of the town preparatory to his return to Boston. At twelve o'clock the British left the village, in the same order as they had entered. While the commanding officer knew that his safety lay only in an immediate evacuation of Concord, he felt also that the return march would be an exceedingly hazardous one, for the whole country seemed as if "men came down from the clouds." The provincials were ever on the track of their enemy. Leaving the North Bridge, the former proceeded across "the great fields" to the Bedford road, where they were joined by the Reading minute-men, and shortly afterwards, by those from Billerica. The Americans adopted no military order; at one blow they became almost an independent people, and on the pursuit, each man was his own gen-

eral, chose his own time, his own position, and his own mode of attack.

"A little before we came to Merriam's Hill," writes one of the provincials, "we discovered the enemy's flank guard, of about eighty or one hundred men, who, on their retreat from Concord, kept that height of land, the main body in the road. The British troops and the Americans at that time were equally distant from Merriam's house. About twenty rods short of that place the Americans made a halt. The British marched down the hill, with very slow but steady step, without music, or a word being spoken that could be heard. Silence reigned on both sides. As soon as the British had gained the main road, and passed a small bridge near that corner, they faced about suddenly, and fired a volley of musketry upon us. They overshot; and no one, to my knowledge, was injured by the fire. The fire was immediately returned by the Americans, and two British soldiers fell dead, at a little distance from each other, in the road, near the brook."¹

The British troops continued to retreat, while the fire of the Americans was poured upon them from every quarter. The contest near the Brooks tavern, on the old road, was short and sharp. All along the woody defiles the British suffered terribly. At Fisher's Hill, in Lexington, Colonel Smith received a severe wound in his leg; and at the foot of the hill a personal contest took place between James Hayward, of Acton, and a British soldier. The latter levelled his gun, saying, "You are a dead man!" "And so are you," replied Hayward. Both fired. The soldier was killed instantly; and Hayward, being mortally wounded, died the next day. The militia of Lexington, mindful of what they

¹ Ripley's History.

had suffered nine or ten hours previously, now improved their opportunity to retaliate. Captain Parker and his men gave the enemy a warm reception. Confusion ensued; and for some time the British officers in vain tried to restore discipline. Furthermore their ammunition began to fail, while their light companies were so fatigued as to be almost unfitted for service. It was well known that, if re-enforcements had not arrived, Colonel Smith would have surrendered his entire command rather than have occasioned further slaughter.

It was about two o'clock in the afternoon, when a brigade of eleven hundred men, with two field pieces and a provision train, under the command of Lord Hugh Percy, entered Lexington. They had arrived from Boston, in response to a request for aid which Smith had sent to Gage early in the morning. Their coming checked for a while the eager pursuit of the Americans, and saved the regiment of Colonel Smith from annihilation. So fatigued were the British soldiers at this critical moment that "they were obliged to lie down upon the ground, their tongues hanging out of their mouths like those of dogs after a chase."

After a brief respite the British resumed their march, followed and harassed by the provincials. Every height was filled with minute-men, and at every defile the contest was bloody. Meanwhile the British burned houses, barns, and shops which lay along their route. In Cambridge, the skirmishing again became sharp and bloody, and the troops increased their atrocity. The unarmed, the aged, and the infirm, who were unable to flee, were bayoneted and murdered in several instances in their habitations. Leaving West Cambridge, the British took the road that winds round Prospect Hill. When they arrived at the hill, their situation

again became critical. Their progress was impeded by the large numbers of the wounded ; only a few rounds of ammunition remained ; their cannon had lost their terror ; while all around the country was alive with provincials. A strong force was advancing upon them from Roxbury, Dorchester, and Milton ; and Colonel Pickering, with seven hundred of the Essex militia, threatened to cut off their retreat to Charlestown.

At length, about sunset, with the aid of Percy's brigade, the enemy were enabled to reach Bunker Hill without being entirely captured or destroyed. There they were under the protection of the guns of the men-of-war lying in the harbor. One hour later, and both detachments of the British would have fallen into the hands of the Americans. Colonel Smith's regiment had marched about forty miles in twenty hours, and endured incredible suffering on the retreat. Percy's brigade was ten hours on the road, and had marched twenty-six miles, and for half that time and half that distance they too were a target for the enraged American sharpshooters.

The Americans who joined in the pursuit, which began at the old North Bridge in Concord, came from Acton, Bedford, Billerica, Brookline, Beverly, Concord, Carlisle, Chelmsford, Cambridge, Charlestown, Danvers, Dedham, Dorchester, Framingham, Lexington, Lincoln, Lynn, Littleton, Medford, Milton, Needham, Newton, Pepperell, Roxbury, Reading, Sudbury, Stow, Salem, Woburn, Watertown, and Westford. Thirty-one towns ! Such is the distinguished roll of honor represented in the opening fight of the Revolution. Of the Americans who suffered between Concord River and Bunker Hill, forty-nine were killed, thirty-six were wounded, and five were missing. The loss of the British comprised seventy-

three killed, one hundred and seventy-two wounded, and twenty-six missing.

The War of the Revolution had begun; and the effect of the tidings of the first conflict was very great, both in the colonies and in Great Britain. In the former, the news spread with wonderful rapidity; and in every quarter the people assembled, and prepared to join their brethren of Massachusetts in defence of their liberties. "What a glorious morning is this!" exclaimed Samuel Adams, when he heard the sound of the guns at Lexington. He knew that it was the morning of Freedom; and that the final triumph of the American cause was at hand.

CHAPTER XV.

BUNKER HILL, AND THE SIEGE OF BOSTON.

THE events of the great day of Lexington and Concord battle changed the American cause from commercial war to armed resistance. At this time the colonies were in the relation of Union, with a basis of brotherhood, common peril, and a common object. Its embodiment was the government of congresses and committees inaugurated by the Continental Congress.

After the fight, the Provincial Congress met at Watertown to take measures for the "salvation of the country." "Our all," it was said, "is at stake. Death and devastation are the consequences of delay. Every moment is infinitely precious. An hour lost may deluge the country in blood, and entail perpetual slavery upon the few of our posterity who may survive the carnage."¹ On the 23d of April it was voted, "that an army of thirty thousand men be immediately raised, and that thirteen thousand six hundred be raised by this province."² Provisions were made for defraying the expenses; the committee of safety was ordered to "bring in a plan for the establishment of the officers and soldiers," and special committees were sent to the New Hampshire Congress, and to Connecticut and Rhode Island, to request concurrence. General Artemus Ward now assumed command of the provincial

¹ Jour. Prov. Cong., 147.

² Idem, 148.

troops. In a few days, the army was joined by Putnam, of Connecticut, and Stark and Sargent, of New Hampshire, whose services at this juncture were valuable.

The situation of the people of Boston, at this time, was most distressing. They were not only cut off from intercourse with their friends in the country, but were exposed to dangers of countless number. Before the month closed, those who wished to do so, removed with all their effects from the town, after pledging themselves to maintain neutrality for a season. Hundreds took advantage of this privilege. The inhabitants of Charlestown had already left that town; in such numbers, indeed, that just before the date of the battle of Bunker Hill, scarcely two hundred remained out of a population of nearly three thousand.

The organization and equipment of the provincial army were carried on as matters of primary importance. Massachusetts was daily adding to the number of her enlistments; Rhode Island had voted to raise fifteen hundred men; Connecticut, six thousand, and New Hampshire, two thousand. In May, General Ward recommended that there should be procured "thirty twenty-four pounders; and if that number of cannon cannot be obtained, that the weight of metal should be made up with eighteen pounders, double fortified; ten twelve pounders, and eighteen nine pounders, with twenty one thousand six hundred pounds of powder, and eighty balls for each gun."¹ About the same time the erection of fortifications was commenced at Cambridge; the Neck between Boston and Roxbury was secured, and the troops in Roxbury were re-enforced. On the 10th of May the second Continental Congress assembled at Philadelphia. The delegates from Massachusetts urged

¹ Jour. Prov. Cong., 249.

the adoption of measures for the relief of Boston. John Adams also urged "the adoption of the army in Cambridge as a continental army, the officers of which should be appointed, and the provisions for its support made, by the General Congress."¹ On the 15th of June, George Washington, of Virginia, was unanimously chosen Commander-in-chief of the American army. This step was of the greatest importance, and was the corner-stone, indeed, of the new structure to be raised. Four days later, General Ward was elected as the second officer, and General Lee as the third.

Meanwhile Gage had declared martial law to be in force, and had offered pardon to all who would lay down their arms, "excepting only from the benefit of such pardon Samuel Adams and John Hancock, whose offences are of too flagitious a nature to admit of any other consideration than that of condign punishment."² This proclamation, which served only to show the situation of its author, and his anger toward the patriots, was brought before the Provincial Congress, who at once prepared a counter proclamation, granting pardon to all offenders against the rights and liberties of the country, "excepting only from the benefit of such pardon Thomas Gage and Samuel Graves, with the mandamus councillors Sewall, Paxton, and Hallowell, who had not resigned their office, and all the natives of America, not belonging to the navy or army, who went out with the troops on the nineteenth of April last, and were countenancing, aiding, and assisting them in the robberies and murders then committed."³ The recruits for Gage's army, already numbering upward

¹ Adams, Works, ii. 407.

² Jour. Prov. Cong., 344-347.

³ Frothingham, Siege, 113.

of five thousand men, arrived in the last of May. By the middle of June, his force was increased to nearly ten thousand; and with Generals Clinton, Howe, and Burgoyne as his under officials, Gage was in high spirits, and was flushed with the idea of an easy conquest.

There were continual reports that the British intended to sally out of Boston; and the Committee of Safety and the Council of War were determined to prevent this if possible. On the 15th of June the Committee voted that immediate possession should be taken of "the hill, called Bunker's Hill, in Charlestown," and that "some one hill or hills on Dorchester Neck be likewise secured." The army was then placed in the following position: General Ward's headquarters were at Cambridge, where the centre division of the army was stationed, consisting of fifteen Massachusetts regiments, the artillery under Colonel Gridley, and General Putnam's Connecticut troops. The right wing, under General Thomas, consisting of about four thousand troops, was at Roxbury. General Greene's Rhode Island forces, and Spencer's Connecticut regiment, were at Jamaica Plain. Of the left wing of the army, three companies under Gerrish were at Chelsea. Stark's New Hampshire regiment was at Medford; Reed's regiment was at Charlestown Neck, with sentinels reaching to Bunker Hill. Including drummers, the provincial army numbered seven thousand six hundred and forty-four men.¹

On Friday, the 16th of June, measures were taken to fortify Bunker Hill. Orders were issued to Colonel William Prescott, to Frye, Bridge, Knowlton, and Gridley, commanding in all twelve hundred men, and supplied with a day's provisions and suitable intrenching tools, to pro-

¹ Frothingham, *Siege*, 117, seq.

ceed to Charlestown, and to fortify Bunker Hill. After a parade on Cambridge Common, and after listening to a fervent prayer from President Langdon, of Harvard College, the detachment commenced its march about nine o'clock in the evening. At Charlestown Neck the troops halted; a portion of the troops proceeded to the lower part of the town as a guard, while the main body marched on over Bunker Hill. Ward's order was to "fortify Bunker Hill;" but at a consultation, which was held by Prescott and the other officers, a position now known as Breed's Hill, seemed better adapted to the object of the expedition, and better suited to the daring spirit of the provincial yeomanry. Breed's Hill was accordingly chosen as the basis of operations; and, as hurriedly as possible, the plan of the fortifications was marked out by Gridley, the tools were distributed, and about midnight the men began to work.

Anxious to the patriot laborers were the watches of that star-light night. In the waters below were anchored the British men-of-war, five in all, and several floating batteries. Along the shore could be heard at intervals the "All is well!" of the American sentinels. Colonel Prescott "was often heard to say that his great anxiety that night was to have a screen raised, however slight, for his men before they were attacked, which he expected would be early in the morning, as he knew it would be difficult, if not quite impossible, to make raw troops, however full of patriotism, to stand in an open field against artillery and well-armed and well-disciplined soldiers. He therefore strenuously urged on the work; and every subaltern and private labored with spade and pickaxe, without intermission, through the night, and until they resumed their

muskets near the middle of the next day. Never were men in worse condition for action, — exhausted by watching, fatigue, and hunger, — and never did old soldiers behave better." As the sun rose, a redoubt, eight rods square and six feet high, was completed on the summit of the hill, where the monument now stands. On the east, was an extensive field; and "in a line with this, running down the north side of the hill toward the slough, was a breastwork, which, at its southern extremity, was separated from the redoubt by a narrow passage-way." The redoubt faced the town, and protected the south side of the hill; in the rear was a passage, opening toward the slough.

At early dawn, on the 17th of June, the fortifications were descried by sailors on board the men-of-war. The captain of the "Lively" opened fire at once; and the roaring of the cannon created alarm in the British camp, and summoned the population of Boston into the streets. Whilst the cannonade continued from several of the frigates and the batteries, Gage called a council of war. In the mean time Prescott himself mounted the parapet, and encouraged his men with words of humorous cheer. His tall, manly form was discerned by Gage, as he was reconnoitring the Americans through his glass. "Who is the person who appears to command?" he asked of Councillor Willard. The latter recognized his brother-in-law. "Will he fight?" asked Gage. "Yes, sir; he is an old soldier, and will fight as long as a drop of blood remains in his veins!" "The works must be carried, then," concluded the general.

As the day advanced, the heat became oppressive, and the brave men behind the fortifications were suffering from

the want of food and drink. Some of the officers urged Prescott to send for relief; but the latter refused to do so. "The enemy," he said, "would not dare to attack them; and if they did, would be defeated; the men who had raised the works were the best able to defend them; already they had learned to despise the fire of the enemy; they had the merit of the labor, and should have the honor of the victory." A little later, however, Prescott consented to send for additional troops and supplies, and Major John Brooks was despatched for this purpose. About eleven o'clock, General Ward ordered the whole of the regiments of Colonels Stark and Reed to re-enforce Colonel Prescott; and at the same time the companies stationed at Chelsea were recalled.

Meanwhile General Gage had resolved to carry the works, and, early in the morning, had held a council of war for the purpose of determining on the plan of operations. "It is impossible for the rebels to withstand our arms a moment," remarked Gage to General Timothy Ruggles. "Sir," replied the latter, "you do not know with whom you have to contend. These are the very men who conquered Canada. I fought with them side by side; I know them well; they will fight bravely. My God, sir, your folly has ruined your cause!" It was then decided to attack the fortifications in front; and, at noon, ten companies of grenadiers, ten of light infantry, four battalions of infantry, with a corps of artillery, were embarked in boats from the North Battery and from the end of Long Wharf. Two ships of war moved up Charles River to join with the "Somerset," the floating batteries, and the battery on Copp's Hill, in firing on the works. It was a beautiful day; the "sun was shining in meridian splendor; and the

scarlet uniforms, the glistening armor, the brazen artillery, the regular movement of the boats, the flashes of fire, and the belchings of smoke, formed a spectacle brilliant and imposing." At one o'clock the troops were landed at Moulton's Point, and were formed into three lines. The boats were all ordered back to Boston.

General Howe, the commander of the force, having examined the American works, and found them more formidable than he had anticipated, applied to General Gage for re-enforcements. Pending the arrival of the latter, the troops dined. To many a brave man it proved his last meal. At two o'clock, and also at three, the British were re-enforced; and the greatest anxiety prevailed at the intrenchments on Breed's Hill. At Cambridge there was noise and confusion. The bells were rung, the drums beat to arms, and orders were given for troops to march and oppose the enemy. The whole of the reserve, save Ward's own regiment, those of Gardner and Patterson, and part of Bridge's, marched over to Charlestown. General Joseph Warren, who "could not be constrained by the entreaty of his brethren of the Congress," felt it to be his duty to plunge into danger. On Bunker Hill he met General Putnam, who offered to receive orders from him. "I am here only as a volunteer," replied Warren. "I know nothing of your dispositions, nor will I interfere with them. Tell me where I can be most useful." Putnam directed him to the redoubt, saying, "There you will be covered." "Don't think I came to seek a place of safety," continued Warren, "but tell me where the onset will be most furious." Putnam again named the redoubt. Upon arriving at the redoubt, Warren was tendered the command by Colonel Prescott, who observed that the former had

been appointed a major-general by the Provincial Congress, a few days before. "I shall take no command here," said Warren. "I have not yet received my commission. I came as a volunteer, with my musket, to serve under you, and shall be happy to learn of a soldier of your experience."

At three o'clock the American defences were lined nearly in the following manner: Colonel Prescott, with the original detachment, except the Connecticut troops, were stationed at the redoubt and the breastwork. Captain Gridley's artillery company held a position between the breastwork and rail fence, where it was soon joined by the artillery company of Captain Callender. On the right of the redoubt were other troops; and at the rail fence were the New Hampshire, Connecticut, and a few of the Massachusetts forces. Here, also, was General Putnam at the beginning of action. The Massachusetts troops, as they came on to the field, "appear to have marched to the redoubt, and were directed to take the most advantageous positions. In doing this, parts of regiments, and even companies that came on together, broke their ranks, divided, and subsequently fought in various parts of the field, in platoons or as individuals, rather than under regular commands."¹

The British troops were now all landed, and numbered, probably, not less than three thousand. They were commanded by General Howe, an officer of merit and bravery; and under him were Pigot, Nesbit, Abercrombie, Clarke, Butler, Williams, Bruce, Spendlove, Smelt, Mitchell, Pitcairn, Short, Small, and Lords Percy and Rawdon. Previous to the action, General Howe addressed his army. "Remember, gentlemen," he said, "we have no recourse to

¹ *Frothingham.*

any resources, if we lose Boston, but to go on board our ships, which will be very disagreeable to us all." The batteries had already commenced firing, and a general discharge of the artillery was intended to cover the advance of the British columns.

At length the troops moved forward in two divisions, — the right, under General Howe, toward the rail fence, the left, under General Pigot, to storm the breastwork and redoubt. To his chagrin, General Howe discovered that twelve pound balls had been sent to load his six pound guns, and he therefore ordered the pieces to be charged with grape. The advance of the artillery, however, was greatly impeded by the miry ground at the base of the hill, and that of the infantry was hindered by the tall grass and the fences. "Let us take the bull by the horns," shouted the men, thinking to scatter the Americans at the first charge. "Wait until you see the white of their eyes, — aim at the handsome coats, — pick off the commanders," said the provincial officers. At length the enemy came within gunshot, — only eight rods separated the contending parties. The order was given, — "Fire low!" and from redoubt and breastwork a terrific volley mowed down the enemy. With "surly reluctance," General Pigot was obliged to retreat. In the mean time General Howe was leading the right wing against the rail fence. A murderous discharge welcomed him, and the flying bullets were true to their message. So great was the carnage, that the British columns were disconcerted, partly broken, and forced to retreat. The Americans supposed that they "had driven the enemy." They saw the veterans of England fleeing before their fire, and felt a new confidence in themselves.

Colonel Prescott was sure, however, that the attack would be renewed; and General Putnam rode forward to Bunker Hill, and to the rear of it, to urge on re-enforcements. Without loss of time, General Howe rallied his troops, and ordered another assault. They advanced as before, and under the same difficulties. At this juncture, Charlestown was set on fire; and "turning their eyes thitherward, the Americans, to their horror, saw dense clouds of smoke ascending, and the forked flames, from churches and dwellings, shooting and glaring upon the evening sky."¹ "Sure I am," wrote Burgoyne, "nothing ever has or can be more dreadfully terrible than what was to be seen or heard at this time. The most incessant discharge of guns that ever was heard with mortal ears." When the British had advanced within six rods, the Americans fired. Whole ranks of officers and men were prostrated; stream after stream of flame continued to belch forth; the ground in front of the works was strewn with the dead and wounded. "My God!" exclaimed General Putnam, "I never saw such a carnage of the human race." In vain did the surviving officers urge on the men. They were compelled to give way, and to leave the ground in confusion.

The British did not rally again until after some time had elapsed. Putnam was still on Bunker Hill, urging forward re-enforcements; and General Ward was at Cambridge, trying to calm disorder. In the redoubt alone order prevailed. "Colonel Prescott remained at his post, determined in his purpose, undaunted in his bearing, inspiring his command with hope and confidence, and yet chagrined that, in this hour of peril and glory, adequate support had not reached him. He passed round the lines to encourage his

¹ Barry, *iii.* 85.

men, and assured them that if the British were once more driven back, they could not be rallied again. His men cheered him, as they replied, 'We are ready for the red coats again!' But his worst apprehensions, as to ammunition, were realized as the report was made to him that a few artillery cartridges constituted the whole stock of powder on hand. He ordered them to be opened, and the powder to be distributed. He charged his soldiers 'not to waste a kernel of it, but to make it certain that every shot should tell.' He directed the few who had bayonets to be stationed at the points most likely to be scaled. These were the only preparations it was in his power to make to meet his powerful antagonist."¹

A third time General Howe ordered his men to advance. To conquer or die, was his fixed resolve. He himself led the grenadiers and light infantry in front of the breastwork, while Clinton and Pigot proceeded, with the extreme left, to scale the redoubt. So fierce was the attack, that Colonel Prescott became convinced that the redoubt must be carried. The moment was trying, but he continued to give his orders coolly. Most of his men had remaining only one or two rounds of ammunition, a few not more than three. They were directed to reserve their fire until the enemy were within twenty yards. The British came on, and the Americans fired. For a moment only, the columns wavered; and then, recovering in an instant, they sprang forward, and scaled the redoubt.

Colonel Prescott ordered a retreat. While some of his men leaped the walls, others hewed their way through the enemy's ranks; he himself "did not run, but stepped long, with his sword up," escaping unharmed. At this

¹ Frothingham.

period, the brave Warren, reluctant to flee, was pierced by a ball, and left on the field ; Gridley and Bridge were wounded ; and Colonel Gardner received his death wound. But still their men fought on, reckless of the well-directed fire of the enemy. The force at the rail fence maintained their ground with great firmness, and, by resisting every attempt to turn their flank, saved the main body from being cut off. These brave men, noticing the retreat of their brethren from the redoubt, "gave ground, but with more regularity than could have been expected of troops who had been no longer under discipline." The whole body of the Americans was now in full retreat, covered by Putnam and his Connecticut troops, who "dared the utmost fury of the enemy in the rear of the whole." On Bunker Hill, where the provincials halted, General Putnam counselled a renewal of the engagement. "In God's name," he shouted, "form, and give them one shot more !" and taking his own post near a field piece, he "seemed resolved to brave the foe alone." The brow of Bunker Hill was a place of great slaughter, and to remain longer was to invite instant death. Over the Neck, therefore, the Americans crossed, and paused on Winter and Prospect Hills.

At five o'clock, the British planted their flag on Bunker Hill. Thus ended the battle. The loss of the Americans, in all the engagements, was one hundred and fifteen killed, three hundred and five wounded, and thirty missing. The loss of the British, according to the official account, was two hundred and twenty-six killed, and eight hundred and twenty-eight wounded.

The battle of Bunker Hill was the first great battle of the revolutionary contest. It proved the quality of the

American soldier, and was a victory, with all the moral effect of victory, under the name of a defeat. On the 19th of June, General Gage, exasperated by his reverses, issued a proclamation, requiring all the inhabitants who had arms, "immediately to surrender them at the court house." Only the tories obeyed. Hostilities had now begun, and it behooved both parties to fortify their positions as speedily as possible. By the Americans intrenchments were thrown up on Winter and Prospect Hills; the headquarters at Cambridge were strengthened; a complete line of circumvallation was extended from the Charles to the Mystic River, and the right wing at Roxbury was re-enforced.

On the 3d of July, General Washington, having arrived in Cambridge from Philadelphia, assumed command of the American army. This army numbered nearly fifteen thousand men, of whom Massachusetts had furnished nine thousand, and Connecticut, Rhode Island, and New Hampshire the residue. The first care of the commander-in-chief was to visit the different posts, and to reconnoitre the enemy's works. He next applied himself to the task of remodeling the army, which he had found to be "a mixed multitude of people, under very little discipline, order, or government." Orders were then issued for the levying of fresh troops, and a request was made for gunpowder.

Meanwhile Washington was laying his plans for the siege of Boston. To this end, the American works on Winter Hill were forwarded, and on the 26th of August, Ploughed Hill, now Mount Benedict, was occupied and intrenched. The month of September passed quietly. Slight skirmishes, indeed, occurred between the British regulars and the American sharpshooters, but no remarkable engagement. As the season advanced, the weather became cooler, and prep-

arrangements were made for quartering the British troops in the houses of the inhabitants. In the midst of these movements Gage was recalled, and General Howe was appointed to succeed him. The latter, although a much abler, and more daring officer than his predecessor, was not insensible to his critical position. To Lord Dartmouth he confessed frankly that "the opening of the campaign from this quarter would be attended with great hazard, as well from the strength of the country as from the intrenched position the rebels had taken." Notwithstanding his prospects of ill success, Howe devoted himself zealously to the improvement of his defences. He repaired the redoubt on Bunker Hill, and raised fortifications on Boston Neck. He hastened, also, the quartering of his troops. The Old South Meeting House was cleared out for a riding school; redoubts were thrown up on the Common; an opening was made across the Neck from water to water, and works were erected to check incursions from Roxbury. Four British men-of-war lay anchored in the harbor; and the entire force of the British, including soldiers, sailors, and marines, made an army of about ten thousand men.

In England, at this time, the current of public feeling was turning against the colonies. It was openly announced that "the violent measures towards America are fairly adopted, and countenanced by a majority of individuals of all ranks, professions, or occupations in the country."¹ When the petition, forwarded to the king by the Continental Congress in September, arrived, it was received in silence; and three days later the agents of the colonies were informed that "no answer would be given."² The

¹ Ramsay's *Am. Rev.*, i. 280.

² Mahon, *Hist.*, vi. 69.

Duke of Grafton regretted the course of the ministry, and said that "if deputies from the United Colonies could not be acknowledged by the king, other expedients might be devised by which the wishes and expectations of his Majesty's American subjects might be stated and properly considered."¹ Shortly afterwards the duke held an interview with the king, during which the latter affirmed that he had no intention of yielding to the colonies, and "endeavored to demonstrate, by calm and dispassionate reasoning, the justice, the policy, and the necessity of this war, and the absolute certainty of ultimate success." The duke refused to sanction such measures, and at once resigned his position as lord of the privy seal. The Earl of Dartmouth was appointed as his successor; and the American secretaryship was bestowed upon Lord George Germain, formerly Lord Sackville. In October the king rehearsed from the throne the story of the late proceedings in Massachusetts, and added, "It has now become the part of wisdom to put a speedy end to these disorders by the most decisive exertions. For this purpose I have increased my naval establishment, and greatly augmented my land forces, but in such a manner as may be the least burdensome to my kingdoms."² A month later the prohibitory bill of Lord North, repealing the Boston Port Bill, and the two restraining acts of the previous session, but interdicting all commerce with the insurgent colonies, was passed. Well might Burke exclaim, in view of such legislation, "It affords no matter for very pleasing reflection to observe that our subjects diminish as our laws increase."

In the mean time the war was progressing in Massachusetts, and in other of the New England colonies. The

¹ Lord Mahon, *Hist.*, vii 71.

² Lord Mahon, *Hist.*, vi. 70.

reorganization of the army, however, was still a matter of difficulty; and, although recruiting orders were issued, enlistments were very slow. Washington was well nigh discouraged. "Such a dearth of public spirit," he wrote, "and want of virtue; such stock-jobbing, and fertility in all the low arts, to obtain advantage on one hand or another, in this great change of military arrangement, I never saw before, and pray God I never may be witness to again. . . . Could I have foreseen what I have experienced, and am likely to experience, no consideration upon earth should have induced me to accept this command. A regiment, or any subordinate department, would have been accompanied with ten times the satisfaction, and perhaps ten times the honor."¹ Notwithstanding his numerous discouragements, Washington was resolved to conclude, if possible, what he had already begun—the siege of Boston.

In November intrenchments were completed on Miller's Hill by a detachment under General Heath, without receiving any annoyance from the enemy. December came; and still the British showed no inclination to fight. Their silence, indeed, was unaccountable. When, at length, General Putnam undertook to raise fortifications on the hill adjacent to Lechmere's Point, he was cannonaded by the men-of-war which lay near by, but was not prevented from continuing on with his work. Within a brief period, two redoubts were thrown up in this locality, which gave to the Americans a commanding position. The result also encouraged them to attempt greater achievements. "Give us powder and authority," they said, "and Boston can be set in flames." The aspect of affairs began to be more

¹ Sparks's *Washington*, iii. 178-179.

cheering; and the increased zeal and prompt movements of the people gave "infinite satisfaction" to the commander-in-chief.

While the position of the American army continued to grow better, that of the British army became more and more distressing. At the beginning of the new year, the small-pox raged in Boston, and made sad havoc with the troops; provisions were scarce; fuel was wanting, and the severity of the weather gave rise to intense suffering. In January, Washington called a council of war. The question of an attack on Boston was submitted, and urged on the ground that it was "indispensably necessary to make a bold attempt to conquer the ministerial troops before they could be re-enforced in the spring."¹ The commander-in-chief had been desirous of offensive operations against the besieged army in that place for some months. He wished to drive them from the capital of Massachusetts, and at the same time to prevent their falling upon any other port of America with a sufficient force to cause danger or alarm. But his prudence was too great to engage in an enterprise, when there was so much hazard, which might be highly injurious to the country, and when the general opinion was against such an attempt. Washington viewed the situation with many misgivings. "My reflection upon it," he wrote, "produces many an uneasy hour, when all around me are wrapped in sleep. Few people know the predicament we are in on a thousand accounts; fewer still will believe, if any disaster happens to these lines, from what cause it flows. If I should be able to rise superior to these, and many other difficulties which might be enumerated, I shall most religiously be-

¹ Frothingham, *Siege*, 286.

lieve that the finger of Providence is in it, to blind the eyes of our enemies; for surely, if we get well through this month, it must be for want of their knowing the disadvantages we labor under.”¹

In February a day was fixed upon to take possession of Dorchester Heights, “with a view of drawing out the enemy.” Washington wrote to the Council of the Massachusetts Bay, asking “whether it may not be best to direct the militia of certain towns most contiguous to Dorchester and Roxbury to repair to the lines at those places, with their arms, ammunition, and accoutrements, instantly upon a given signal.” Such a proceeding was approved; and to facilitate it, ordnance were mounted at the works on Lechmere’s Point, and everything made ready for offensive operations.

Early in March, the camp of the Americans presented “indications of an approaching conflict.” From Miller’s Hill, Lechmere’s Point, and Lamb’s Dam in Roxbury, a severe cannonade was commenced; and, under cover of this fire, two thousand men, under General Thomas, with six twelve pounders and six or eight field pieces, marched and took possession of Dorchester Heights. When the light of day exposed them to the full view of the British in Boston, they had thrown up a sufficient breastwork for protection and security in prosecuting the object of their enterprise. The enemy were surprised at the spectacle. “I know not what I shall do,” said General Howe. “These rebels have done more in one night than my whole army would have done in months.” “If the Americans are not dislodged,” remarked Admiral Shulldham, “not one of his Majesty’s ships can be kept in the harbor.” A council

¹ Sparks’s *Washington*, iii. 240.

of war was accordingly convened, and it was decided to attempt to force the works. A large body of troops was ordered to embark on board the transports, with a view of landing "in the hollow between the farthest of the two fortified hills and the Castle." The Americans "clapped their hands for joy, and wished them to come on." It was the anniversary of the massacre of 1770, and Washington had only to remind his army of this fact to "add fuel to the martial fire already kindled, and burning with uncommon intenseness." A bloody scene was anticipated, however; and even the enemy remarked, "It will be another Bunker Hill affair, or worse." But neither party was right in its calculations. Owing to a fierce storm, the transports were unable to reach their destination, and the projected assault was, therefore, reluctantly abandoned.

The 7th of March was a busy day in Boston, for "both troops and tories were preparing to quit the town, and to carry off all they could of their military stores and valuable effects." On the following day, Washington was informed by the selectmen that General Howe had no intention of destroying the town, "unless his troops were molested, during their embarkation or departure, by the armed force without." But the commander-in-chief cared more for the success of his enterprise than for the preservation of Boston, and immediately sent a strong detachment to throw up a battery on Nook's Hill, at Dorchester Point, with the design of molesting the enemy.

For a whole week the British urged forward their preparations for departure, and only waited for a favorable wind to enable them to embark. On the 17th, satisfied that "neither hell, Hull, nor Halifax could afford worse shelter," General Howe evacuated the town, leaving behind him

a number of spiked cannon and other accoutrements of war. Fifteen hundred Tories accompanied him. Their departure was soon discovered by the Americans; and while General Putnam entered the town in one direction, a detachment of Ward's troops, under Colonel Learned, marched in from Roxbury, and took possession.

Thus were the British driven from the soil of Massachusetts, the "refractory colony" remained unsubdued, and the zeal of its sons became a watchword throughout the country. The conduct of Washington during his command near Boston was approved by the Continental Congress; his caution was commended, and his great attention to the organization of the army was praised. A few days after the British left Boston, Washington entered, and there remained for a short season, giving directions respecting the military stores abandoned by the enemy, and making arrangements for the defence of the town when he should leave the colony for New York.

The condition of the once flourishing metropolis exhibited a melancholy proof of the ravages of war. "Some of the churches were essentially injured, having been used as stables for the British cavalry; and many houses and stores were razed to the foundations, and the materials used for fuel; ornamental and fruit trees were cut down for the same purpose. The streets were filled with dirt and filth, which had been accumulating for nine or ten months; and the small-pox was raging in various parts of the town. This gloomy scene formed a most striking contrast to the appearance of the place twelve months before."¹

¹ Bradford, ii. 95.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE WAR FOR INDEPENDENCE.

It does not lie within the province of the local historian to trace in full the progress of the Revolution. It has previously been observed that the vengeance of the British ministry was, at first, aimed chiefly at Massachusetts; that here the struggle for freedom began; and that up to the spring of 1776, the movements of the war, with but few exceptions, were confined to these limits. As the war progressed, however, the scene of activity was enlarged, and what was formerly a mere flame, now burst forth into a conflagration. In the present work, therefore, only a summary of events bearing directly upon the history of Massachusetts will be given.

After the evacuation of Boston, General Ward assumed command of the Massachusetts forces, and as early as was practicable, fortified Boston harbor. Three new regiments, with six companies of artillery, were raised at the expense of the state; under the direction of General Lincoln, fortifications were erected at Salem, Marblehead, Cape Ann, and Plymouth; and the private armed vessels, and those in commission of the province, were employed in the service of the country. Frequent alarms in the months of May and June gave much uneasiness to the people of Massachusetts, and fears were entertained of another visit from the British. A few of the enemy's vessels still remained in the harbor; and the General Court resolved to drive them away if possible.

On the morning of the 13th of June, a large force took post at Nantasket and Long Island, and began a heavy cannonade upon the British. The situation of the latter soon became hazardous; and they were forced to put to sea with their shattered fleet, after blowing up the lighthouse, the only injury which it was in their power to commit.

Meanwhile the state of affairs elsewhere in the country required the assistance of Massachusetts. Fresh troops were constantly in demand. The General Court voted to raise five thousand men for six months for the national army. In every town committees were appointed to direct the enlistments; a bounty and a month's pay in advance were given to each soldier; and the sum of fifty thousand pounds was appropriated by the state to defray current expenses. Notwithstanding these inducements, the local jealousies which prevailed in the colonies greatly retarded the raising of troops. These were soon calmed down, however, and of the five thousand men raised in June, two thousand were sent to New York, and the rest were despatched to the northern department. In the following month other regiments were ordered to New York and to Canada. Such was the need of troops in September, that every fifth man in the province was ordered to march to the neighborhood of New York. In communicating the resolves of Congress at this time, Hancock urged the General Court and the people, by every consideration that could influence honorable men and freemen, to assist in the great work of saving the country from tyranny and oppression. To those who live in times of peace, it appears almost incredible, what sufferings were endured and hazards met by the brave men of that eventful period.

On the 7th of June, Richard Henry Lee, in behalf of

the Virginia delegates, submitted in the hall of Congress in Philadelphia, the following important resolutions:—

“That these United Colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent states; that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British crown, and that all political connection between them and the state of Great Britain is, and ought to be, totally dissolved.

“That it is expedient forthwith to take the most effectual measures for forming foreign alliances.

“That a plan of confederation be prepared, and transmitted to the respective colonies, for their consideration and approbation.”

These resolves were seconded by John Adams; but owing “to some other business,” it was mutually agreed that the members of the Congress should delay until the next day, “in order to take the same into their consideration.” At the appointed time, the resolutions were taken into consideration, and the debate which ensued was “the most copious and the most animated ever held on the subject.” John Adams defended the proposed measures, as “objects of the most stupendous magnitude, in which the lives and liberties of millions yet unborn were intimately interested,” and the climax “of a revolution the most complete, unexpected, and remarkable of any in the history of nations.”¹ A vote on the question was deferred until the following Monday.

On the 10th, Edward Rutledge moved that “the question be postponed for three weeks.” The whole day, until seven o'clock in the evening, was consumed in the debate; when “it appearing,” says Jefferson, “that the colonies of New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, and South Carolina were not yet matured for falling from the

¹ *Works*, ix. 391.

parent stem, but that they were fast advancing to that state, it was thought most prudent to wait a while for them.”¹ At the same time, it was voted that a committee should be appointed to prepare “a declaration in conformity to the resolution on independence.” Accordingly, on the next day, Thomas Jefferson, John Adams, Benjamin Franklin, Roger Sherman, and Robert R. Livingston were named as a committee; and “it fell to Jefferson to write” the declaration, “both because he represented Virginia, from which the proposition had gone forth, and because he had been elected by the largest number of votes.” On the very day when Mr. Lee offered his resolutions, he was called home on account of an illness in his family. Had he remained until the forming of the committee, he would, by courtesy, have been designated as its chairman, and in this event, might have been the author of the declaration.

Jefferson prepared the draught of the Declaration of Independence; and on the 28th of June he presented it to Congress, where it was “ordered to lie on the table.” On the 1st of July, “probably fifty-one delegates”² assembled in the Old State House in Philadelphia. After attending to certain preliminary business, Congress resolved itself “into a committee of the whole to take into consideration the resolution respecting independency,” and voted to refer the draught of the declaration to this committee. For a while the silence of death prevailed; every heart beat nervously with apprehension; every eye was bent towards him, who had dared to second the resolution of freedom. In the midst of the quiet, the new delegates from New Jersey arose and requested a “discussion of the question,” and “a recapitulation of the arguments used in former debates.”

¹ Jefferson's Works, i. 12-14.

² Bancroft, viii. 459.

Mr. Adams undertook to reply. He set forth the justice, the necessity, and the advantages of a separation from Great Britain; he dwelt on the neglect and insult with which their petitions had been treated by the king, and on that vindictive spirit, which showed itself in the employment of German troops, whose arrival was hourly expected, to compel the colonists to unconditional surrender. He concluded, by urging the present time as the most suitable for resolving on independence, inasmuch as it had become the first wish and the last instruction of the communities they represented.

The question before the committee was the resolution on Independence submitted by Mr. Lee on the 7th of June. After being debated upon a whole day, it passed by the vote of nine colonies—New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Connecticut, Rhode Island, New Jersey, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, and Georgia. “South Carolina and Pennsylvania,” says Jefferson, “voted against it. Delaware had but two members present, and they were divided. The delegates from New York declared they were for it themselves, and were assured their constituents were for it; but that their instructions having been drawn near a twelvemonth before, when reconciliation was still the general object, they were enjoined by them to do nothing which should impede that object. They therefore thought themselves not justifiable in voting on either side, and asked leave to withdraw from the question; which was given them.” The committee rose, and Harrison reported the resolution to the House; but at the request of Rutledge, determination upon it was postponed till the next day. Rutledge cherished the hope that his colleagues “would then join in it for the sake of unanimity.”¹

¹ Jefferson's Works, i. 18.

On the 2d of July, Congress resumed its consideration of the resolution. At ten o'clock twelve colonies, without a dissenting voice, resolved: — THAT THESE UNITED COLONIES ARE, AND OF RIGHT OUGHT TO BE, FREE AND INDEPENDENT STATES; THAT THEY ARE ABSOLVED FROM ALL ALLEGIANCE TO THE BRITISH CROWN, AND THAT ALL POLITICAL CONNECTION BETWEEN THEM AND THE STATE OF GREAT BRITAIN IS, AND OUGHT TO BE, TOTALLY DISSOLVED.

Without delay Congress again went into a committee of the whole, and took from the table the draught of the Declaration of Independence. In the evening John Adams wrote home: — "The greatest question was decided which ever was debated in America, and a greater, perhaps, never was nor will be decided among men. . . . The 2d day of July, 1776, will be the most memorable epocha in the history of America; to be celebrated by succeeding generations as the great anniversary festival, commemorated as the day of deliverance, by solemn acts of devotion to God Almighty, from one end of the continent to the other, from this time forward forevermore."¹

On the evening of the 4th of July, the Declaration, having been discussed and amended in committee, was reported to the House, and adopted by twelve states, unanimously, as "The Declaration by the Representatives of the United States in Congress assembled." Thus was consummated that legislation, which, sustained by long struggle and suffering, of which history affords few parallels, struck from the British realm its most promising possession. On this eventful day — the day which announced not only the Birth of a Nation, but also the establishment of a national government — the Declaration was signed by every member present,

¹ Works, ix. 419.

except Mr. Dickinson,¹ and was published in the Philadelphia press. Authenticated copies were transmitted to "the several committees and conventions, and the commanding officers of the continental troops;" and in each of the states the Declaration was proclaimed at the head of the army.² Before Congress adjourned on the 4th, it resolved "that Dr. Franklin, Mr. J. Adams, and Mr. Jefferson, be a committee to prepare a device for a Seal for the United States of America." On the 15th, New York signed the paper; and thus the Declaration of Independence became the act of the thirteen United States.

Four days later Congress voted that "the Declaration passed on the 4th of July be fairly engrossed on parchment, and that the same, when engrossed, be signed by every member of Congress." On the 2d of August, the "Declaration being engrossed and compared at the table, was signed by the members;" and on the 20th of January, 1777, it was voted that an authenticated copy of the Declaration, with the names of the signers, be sent to each of the United States, with the request that it be put on record.

The Declaration was gloriously welcomed in all the states. Patriots rested from their labors; the bells rang pæans of joy; the military paraded; cannon roared with martial salutes, and imposing assemblies proclaimed the fervor of the celebrations. From north to south, from the enemy's lines to the borders of civilization, acclamation was unanimous. The voice of Georgia was the voice of New England. "Let us remember," said the devoted sons of the south, "America is free and independent; that she is, and will be, with the blessing of the Almighty, great among the nations of the earth. Let this encourage us in well doing, to fight

¹ Jefferson's Works, i. 19, 120.

² Idem, i. 120-122.

for our rights and privileges, for all that is near and dear to us. May God give us His blessing, and let all the people say 'Amen.'"¹ On the 18th of July the Declaration was publicly read from the balcony of the State House in Boston. The reading was followed by a grand parade; the King's Arms were taken down, and a dinner, free to all, was given on the occasion.²

The several states were now considered sovereign, as well as independent. They had publicly declared their freedom; but it still remained for them to maintain it even at the cost of life. When the autumn opened, the condition of affairs was far from encouraging. Provisions were scarce, and the army was daily diminishing. It became necessary for Congress to recruit troops on a larger scale than ever before,—and eighty-eight regiments, or seventy thousand men, were ordered to be enlisted for three years. Of this number Massachusetts furnished more than one-sixth.

At the beginning of the new year, the enlistments were recommenced, and continued until the following summer. "We entreat you," said the General Court to the people, "for the sake of that religion, for the enjoyment whereof your ancestors fled to this country, for the sake of your laws and future felicity, to act vigorously and firmly in this critical situation of your country; and we doubt not but that your noble exertions, under the smiles of Heaven, will insure you that success and freedom due to the wise man and the patriot."³ In February, the General Court ordered a new issue of paper money to the amount of one hundred and twenty-five thousand pounds, and a tax of one hundred thousand pounds.

¹ Force's Archives, 5 Series, i. 332.

² Bradford, ii. 131.

³ Austin's Life of Gerry, i. 206.

Meanwhile the naval armament of Massachusetts, including the vessels purchased by Congress, and several smaller privateers, were cruising on the coast and in the region of the West Indies, with success. A large number of richly-laden ships were thus captured by the Americans; and it was estimated that from July, 1775, to January, 1777, there were seized English merchant ships to the value of a million and a half sterling, besides a number of transports bearing provisions destined for the British troops. In the summer of 1777, an expedition was projected for the defence and relief of the people of Nova Scotia, living on the Bay of Fundy, who were friendly to the United States, and were, accordingly, frequently harassed by the British. A regiment was raised in Maine, and a naval force, such as was supposed would be necessary, was procured for the purpose. But unexpected difficulties arose in the prosecution of the plan; and after much delay it was totally abandoned.

Whilst this project was being considered, the British army, under the command of General Burgoyne, was meeting with repeated successes at the northward and in Canada. Apprehensions were excited that it would soon make its way to Albany, unless suddenly checked by a strong re-enforcement from the militia of the New England States. No time was to be lost. Several companies from Suffolk and Middlesex were called out to protect the capital, and to guard the stores deposited there and at Cambridge and Watertown; and the residue comprising as many troops as could be spared were sent to strengthen the army of General Gates. The junction was completed just at the right moment; for a few days later, a body of the army, under the gallant Stark, defeated, near Bennington, a detachment of fifteen hundred British, under Colonel Baum. On the 19th of September,

the Americans gained a victory in an engagement which took place near Saratoga; and on the 7th of October, a third encounter also resulted in their favor. Burgoyne had now penetrated the country so far that he could not retreat without disgrace. Every day his situation became more perilous; and on the 19th of October, surrounded by a large army, he was forced to surrender his troops to the Americans. The prisoners of war were marched to the vicinity of Boston, and quartered in barracks on Winter and Prospect Hills. After this achievement, which was called "the turning point of the war of revolution in America," the greater part of the Continental army was marched from Saratoga to join Washington near Philadelphia, and a few weeks later, went into winter quarters at Valley Forge.

The war, thus far, had been attended with enormous expense, and the country was burdened with debt. When, in November, the General Court met, several important subjects demanded their attention. Congress had recently recommended to the states to raise by tax five millions of dollars; and eight hundred and twenty thousand dollars were required of Massachusetts. To meet the demand, the General Court voted to raise seventy-five thousand pounds immediately by loans, and two hundred and forty thousand pounds by tax. Two new regiments were ordered to be raised to serve in Rhode Island; and some of the militia were called out for the defence of the sea coast.

Ardent and spirited appeals were issued to the people to arouse them to exertion. "Act like yourselves," it was said. "Arouse at the call of Washington and of your country, and you will soon be crowned with glory, independence, and peace. Present ease and interest we must part with for a time; and let us rejoice at the sacri-

fice.”¹ Through the spring and summer of 1778 the presence of a large British force at Newport caused continual alarm, and the Americans conceived the project of expelling them. In August, the troops in Rhode Island under General Sullivan were re-enforced by fresh militia from Massachusetts, until the army amounted in all to about ten thousand men. The enemy, under Sir Robert Pigot, stationed at Newport, numbered sixty-five hundred. In this expedition the Marquis de Lafayette and Major General Greene rendered efficient service.

On the 9th of August, about eight thousand of the Americans captured two of the enemy's forts, and drove the British nearer the town. The advancing army then secured a safe position, and awaited the arrival of the French fleet, under Count d'Estaing, which had recently appeared off the coast. But a tempest suddenly shattered the fleet; and the British, taking courage, ventured to make an assault upon the American troops. The latter held their ground, until compelled to retreat from the island. The want of success in this expedition was the more mortifying, as it was the third attempt made, within eighteen months, to drive the British from this part of New England. Before Sullivan and his forces quitted Rhode Island the French fleet repaired to Boston.²

In the summer of this year, British commissioners arrived at New York to make propositions for a suspension of hostilities. The defeat of Burgoyne had “awakened in England a desire for peace.” Congress unhesitatingly refused to accept the offers of the commissioners; and the latter, chagrined at their failure, declared that such persistency would be considered as a crime of the most aggravated kind, and

¹ Boston Gazette, for Jan. 6, 1778.

² Gordon, *Am. Rev.*, ii. 350, seq.

gave the people forty days to return to their allegiance, or abide the consequences. The reply of Congress was equally firm and decisive, and it affirmed that "since their incorrigible dispositions could not be touched by kindness or compassion, it became their duty, by other means, to vindicate the rights of humanity." The response closed, by saying, "As we are not moved by any light and hasty suggestions of anger or revenge, so, through every possible change of fortune, we shall adhere to this our determination."¹

In November, General Gates superseded General Heath in the command of the forces stationed in Massachusetts; but remained in the state only until the following spring. At the opening of the new year, the whole country, burdened with debt and an increased suffering, was in gloom. Congress had recently called for a loan of fifteen millions of dollars; and of this sum two millions were apportioned to Massachusetts. More men were likewise demanded in addition to those already sent to the Continental army. In June, Massachusetts, with the consent of the General Congress, planned an expedition for the expulsion of the British from the Penobscot. In Maine the undertaking was popular, because the force of the enemy was known to be small, with no prospect of a re-enforcement. Towards the last of July, a fleet consisting of nineteen armed vessels, "as beautiful a flotilla as had ever appeared in the eastern waters," under the command of Richard Saltonstall, of New Haven, arrived before Castine, where the British had erected a fortress. The land forces were commanded by Solomon Lovell, of Weymouth. On the 28th the Americans effected a landing, and were twice repulsed. After several days of cannonading, seven British frigates entered the bay, and completely

¹ Jour. Cont. Cong., for Oct. 13, 1778.

routed or destroyed the continental flotilla. The army straggled in broken squads to the Kennebec settlements; and the whole country was filled with "grief and murmurs." Castine was held by the enemy until 1783.

The years 1780 and 1781 were distinguished by few incidents bearing immediately upon the history of Massachusetts. That the times were gloomy no one can doubt. The life-blood of the nation had been poured out like water; and everywhere there were homes made desolate, and cities and dwellings falling rapidly to decay. The debt of Massachusetts at this time was nominally two hundred millions of dollars; though on the calculation of forty for one, the difference between the bills to be paid and specie was so great, that the debt in reality was not above five millions. The people loudly complained of the heavy debt of the state, and charged the General Court with a want of economy. But never before had the expenses of the state been so great; and in view of what public services were performed, and what numbers of men were employed in the army at different times, it is truly wonderful that the credit of the state was not wholly lost. It must be remembered, also, that "most public purchases were made under disadvantages, and it was well known by those who served the state, or furnished articles at the request of its agents, that the day of payment was far distant." Perhaps in no country, under such stringent circumstances, were there ever fewer defaulters, or less loss to the public interests.

After the war had continued seven years "on the grossest impolicy,"¹ the English government again began to think of peace. In February, 1782, General Conway made the preliminary motion on the subject; but it was rejected by a

¹ Mahon, *Hist. of Eng.*, vii. 124.

majority of one. Opposition became so strong, and the government so weak, that in March, Lord North resigned, and a new ministry was formed, with Rockingham at the head of the treasury, and Shelburne second secretary of state. A day or two later Franklin, who was then at Paris, wrote a letter to Shelburne, informing him of the appointment on the part of the American government of five commissioners, to open and conclude a treaty of peace. Franklin himself was one of these commissioners.

In the following month Richard Oswald, an agent on the part of the English government, held a conference with the American commissioners, and from Franklin received a paper suggesting that to prevent any future disturbance, "England should not only acknowledge the independence of the thirteen United States, but cede to them, also, the province of Canada." This proposition was rejected by Shelburne; and the cabinet presented the abstract of a treaty on a different basis, — admitting the independence of the states, but leaving other matters to be restored as they stood at the peace of 1763. At the same time Thomas Grenville, the friend of Fox, was sent by the British government to treat with Vergennes, the prime minister of France.

The separate negotiations clashed with each other in several particulars. Nevertheless, on the 30th of November, the provisional articles of peace were signed at Paris, by the four American commissioners on one side, and Mr. Oswald on the other. After the opening of the new year, these articles were brought before Parliament, and were bitterly opposed. But it was already too late for the government to fall back with grace; and the new administration labored hard to complete what it had begun. On the 3d of September, 1783, three definitive treaties, with America, France, and Spain,

were signed; the former at Paris, and the other two at Versailles.

Thus closed the War of the Revolution, and American independence was established. When the glad tidings arrived that peace was declared, every countenance was radiant with smiles. In every town and village throughout the land bells were rung, cannon were fired, and bonfires blazed. "It seemed as if all were inspired with new life; and in the hour of triumph, how proudly the soldiery, who had fought for their country, recounted the perilous scenes they had witnessed, and looking to Heaven with grateful emotions, poured out their offerings of gratitude to God! To view such a scene with indifference is impossible; and if the story of the revolution, notwithstanding its drawbacks, becomes to us ever a 'thrice told tale,' or ceases to arouse us to emulate the virtues and admire the heroism of those who achieved the independence of our country, then may we be assured the day of our downfall is rapidly approaching, and we are becoming unworthy of the continued enjoyment of the blessings of liberty, now so widely diffused throughout our land."¹

¹ Barry, iii. 171.

CHAPTER XVII.

ADOPTION OF THE STATE CONSTITUTION.

THE Declaration of Independence imposed upon each of the colonies the necessity of establishing independent governments for the protection of the people and the security of their interests. In September, 1776, the legislature of Massachusetts recommended "to their constituents to choose their deputies to the next General Court with power to adopt a form of government for the state." This recommendation was received in the following spring. In May, 1777, the General Court convened; and as early as was possible, a committee, consisting of four members of the Council and eight members of the House, was appointed to prepare a state constitution. This committee reported a draught in January, 1778, which the General Court approved, and submitted to the people. The latter, however, rejected it, by a vote of five to one, solely because the instrument contained no declaration of rights. Soon after the opinion prevailed that a convention, consisting of persons to be chosen for the purpose, ought to be immediately called.

On the 1st of September, 1779, delegates from all the towns met in convention at Cambridge, and organized by choosing James Bowdoin as president, and Samuel Barrett as secretary. A committee of twenty-six was then appointed to prepare the draught of a constitution; and pending their report, the convention was temporarily adjourned.

The convention, owing to various reasons for delay, did not reassemble until in the following January, at which time a draught was presented and adopted. Copies were sent to all the towns and plantations in the state, with the direction that votes, either for or against this constitution, should be returned on the first Wednesday in June. At this date, it appeared that more than two thirds of the votes were in its favor; whereupon, the convention was dissolved. On the 25th of October, 1780, the government was organized, and the constitution, having been adopted by the popular vote, went into full force. In the month previous, John Hancock, one of the greatest men of his age, was chosen to the office of chief magistrate, and Thomas Cushing was appointed lieutenant governor. The election of the senators likewise took place in the same month.

Though the public mind was chiefly engaged in political concerns at this time, the interests of science were not entirely overlooked. On the 4th of May, 1780, about fifty gentlemen, distinguished for their culture and literary researches, met, and formed the Academy of Arts and Sciences. James Bowdoin was its first president, and Joseph Willard, president of Harvard College, was its first corresponding secretary. In the same year an academy was also established at Andover for the instruction of youth in the higher branches of literature.

A most singular phenomenon occurred on the 19th of May, which created much alarm among the common people, and was the subject of speculation among the learned. The occasion was known as the "dark day." In the morning the sky was cloudy, and a little rain fell. About ten o'clock it began to grow dark, and toward the middle

of the afternoon it was found to be impossible to conduct business without the use of artificial lights. The birds and beasts repaired to their places of rest, but before night it gradually grew lighter, and they again forsook them. The darkness did not extend beyond Connecticut, nor far out at sea. It was attributed to a thick smoke, which had been accumulating for several days, occasioned by large fires in the wooded regions of northern New Hampshire, where the people were making new settlements.

In the autumn a committee was named, consisting of the judges of the Superior Court, the attorney general, James Bowdoin, and James Pickering, "to revise the laws in use in the commonwealth, and to select, abridge, alter, and digest them, so as they should be accommodated to the present government," and also to prepare bills for the proper observance of the Sabbath, and for the prevention of drunkenness and profanity. In May, 1781, Congress authorized the establishment of a national bank at Philadelphia, agreeably to a plan proposed by Robert Morris, who was then superintendent of finance. In the following January, the legislature of Massachusetts passed a law for the purpose of giving currency to the bills issued by that bank within the state, and authorizing the state treasurer and others to receive them for payment of public debts, and subjecting those to severe punishment who should counterfeit them. The charter of the national bank was repealed in 1785; but two years later, the bank was re-incorporated for fourteen years. The first bank in Massachusetts, under the state constitution, was established in 1784. It continued to be for several years the only banking institution in the commonwealth, and to its proprietors it

yielded enormous profits. The "Massachusetts Mint" was established in 1786, but was discontinued after the adoption of the federal constitution, on the ground that a uniform currency was necessary for the convenience of the people in all parts of the country.

The state constitution provided that the highest judicial tribunal in the state should be denominated as the Supreme Judicial Court. Such a court was by law established in July, 1782. Some time previous the legislature had enacted that the judges of the superior court of judicature, the name formerly given to the highest judicial court in the commonwealth, should exercise the powers given by the constitution to the Supreme Judicial Court.

For many years the question of slavery had been the theme of discussion in Massachusetts. As early as 1775, a Worcester convention had resolved, that "we abhor the enslaving of any of the human race, and particularly of the negroes in this country; and that, whenever there shall be a door opened, or opportunity presented, for anything to be done toward the emancipation of the negroes, we will use our influence and endeavor that such a thing may be brought about."¹ Massachusetts never sanctioned slavery; on the contrary, at various times she showed her utter abhorrence of the same. In 1783, the Supreme Judicial Court pronounced a judgment, in the county of Worcester, which was a final decision unfavorable to the existence of slavery in Massachusetts. Five years later the slave trade was prohibited; and "though many who had been held in bondage continued as servants in the families of their masters during their lives, at the opening of the nine-

¹ Lincoln's Hist. of Worcester, 110.

teenth century there were few such left, and the institution died a natural death." ¹

In the winter of 1784-5, Mr. Hancock declined a re-election to his office, and in the following spring, James Bowdoin was chosen by the legislature governor of Massachusetts. As a public man, this country is greatly indebted to Governor Hancock. He was not a man of great intellectual force by nature, but he possessed traits which distinguished him from most men, and qualified him to preside in popular assemblies with great dignity. He was most faithfully devoted to the cause of his country, and it is a high eulogy on his patriotism, that when the British government offered pardon to all the rebels for all their offences, Hancock and one other — Samuel Adams — were the only persons to whom this grace was denied.

Governor Bowdoin was not elected by the people, but he had the highest number of votes, and was constitutionally chosen by the senate. He belonged to one of the first families in the state, and had the reputation of being a man of learning. A perusal of his official communications to the legislature shows, also, that he was governed by a high sense of duty, and by an enlightened perception of what his duty was. During his administration, a convention was held at Portland, for the purpose of forming the District of Maine into a separate state. This convention was followed by two others for a similar purpose; but the opposition proved too strong for the party favoring a separation, and at the end of a year's discussion, the subject was rocked into a slumber, from which it was not aroused until after many years.

Upon his re-election, in 1786, by three fourths of the votes

¹ Barry, iii. 189.

of the whole state, Governor Bowdoin urged upon the attention of the legislature the interests of Harvard College, and proposed that all former grants of land be secured, and a portion in the new township reserved for its use. He reminded them that it was always an object dear to their fathers; that even the British government had extended to the institution its fostering care; and he expressed his confidence that a republican legislature could not neglect the interests of science. At the same time he spoke of the finances of the state, saying that a large amount of interest was due on army notes and other public securities; a great part of the former taxes remained uncollected; and the portion required of the state by Congress, for the arrears of three past years, with the additional sum for the present year, reached in the whole almost a million and a half of dollars. This, indeed, was a heavy tax, and the exhibit was alarming and discouraging to the people.

A dispute with regard to the claim of Massachusetts to a part of the territory west of the Hudson River, had long existed between this Commonwealth and the State of New York. New York, at first, denied entirely the right of Massachusetts to any lands west of that river, and claimed the territory as far west as the United States extended, till it interfered with the British possessions, while Massachusetts laid claim to all that tract of land beyond a certain distance west of the Hudson, and clearly within the early patent of New York, and lying between the southern and northern limits of the patent of Massachusetts Bay. Agents of the two states met at Hartford, and in December, 1786, they agreed that Massachusetts should have the pre-emptive right to two large tracts of land within

the bounds it claimed, being in the whole about five millions of acres, two hundred and thirty thousand of which were situated near the centre of the State of New York, and the other, a larger tract, in the more western part of the state, bordering on Lake Erie; the jurisdiction over the whole, however, to be in New York. On her part, Massachusetts relinquished the residue of her claim forever to New York, excepting the most western part of the original claim of Massachusetts, west of the lake and within the southern and northern boundaries before mentioned, which had been previously granted and ceded to Congress, and formed a part of the northern and western territory of the United States, bordering on the British possessions. In 1787, the boundary line of the two states was adjusted by skilful mathematicians and the geographer of the United States.

Of the manners and customs of the people, of the state of society at the close of the revolution, and of the progress which had been made within a few years, something should be said. In 1781, Boston presented to a French traveller "a magnificent prospect of houses, built on a curved line, and extending afterwards into a semicircle above half a league." "These edifices," says the same traveller, "which were lofty and regular, with spires and cupolas intermixed at proper distances, did not seem to us a modern settlement so much as an ancient city, enjoying all the embellishments and population that never fail to attend on commerce and the arts." "The inside of the town does not at all lessen the idea that is formed by an exterior prospect. A superb wharf has been carried out above two thousand feet into the sea, and is broad enough for stores and workshops through the whole of its

extent.¹ It communicates at right angles with the principal street of the town, which is both large and spacious, and bends in a curve parallel to the harbor. This street," — since known as Washington Street, — "is ornamented with elegant buildings, for the most part two or three stories high; and many other streets terminate in this, communicating with it on each side. The form and construction of the houses would surprise a European eye. They are built of brick and wood — not in the clumsy and melancholy taste of our ancient European towns, but regularly, and well provided with windows and doors. The woodwork, or frame, is light, covered on the outside with thin boards, well planed, and lapped over each other, as we do tiles on our roofs in France. These buildings are generally painted with a pale white color, which renders the prospect much more pleasing than it would otherwise be. The roofs are set off with balconies, doubtless for the more ready extinguishing of fire. The whole is supported by a wall about a foot high. It is easy to see how great an advantage these houses have over ours in point of neatness and salubrity.

"Their household furniture is simple, but made of choice wood, after the English fashion, which renders its appearance less gay. Their floors are covered with handsome carpets or painted cloths; but others sprinkle them with fine sand. The city is supposed to contain about six thousand houses, and thirty thousand inhabitants. There are nineteen churches for the several sects here, all of them convenient, and several finished with taste and elegance — especially those of the Presbyterians and the Church of England. Their form is generally a long square, ornamented with a pulpit, and

¹ Long Wharf is here alluded to.

furnished with pews of a similar fabrication throughout. The poor as well as the rich hear the word of God in these places, in a convenient and decent posture of body.

“Sunday is observed with the utmost strictness. All business, how important soever, is then totally at a stand, and the most innocent recreations and pleasures are prohibited. Boston, that populous town, where at other times there is such a hurry of business, is on this day a mere desert. You may walk the streets without meeting a single person ; or if, by chance, you meet one, you scarcely dare to stop and talk with him. A Frenchman that lodged with me took it into his head to play on the flute on Sundays for his amusement. The people upon hearing it were greatly enraged, collected in crowds round the doors, and would have carried matters to extremity in a short time with the musician, had not the landlord given him warning of his danger, and forced him to desist. Upon this day of melancholy, you cannot go into a house but you find the whole family employed in reading the Bible ; and, indeed, it is an affecting sight to see the father of a family, surrounded by his household, explaining to them the sublime truths of this sacred volume.

“Nobody fails here of going to the place of worship appropriated to his sect. In these places there reigns a profound silence ; an order and respect are also observable which have not been seen for a long time in our Catholic churches. Their psalmody is grave and majestic ; and the harmony of the poetry, in their national tongue, adds a grace to the music, and contributes greatly towards keeping up the attention of the worshippers. All these churches are destitute of ornaments. No addresses are made to the heart and the imagination. There is no visible object to suggest to the mind for what purpose a man comes into these places, who

he is, and what he will shortly be. Neither paintings nor sculptures represent those great events which ought to recall him to his duty and awaken his gratitude; nor are those heroes in piety brought into view whom it is his duty to admire and endeavor to imitate. The pomp of ceremony is here wanting to shadow out the greatness of the Being he goes to worship. There are no processions to testify the homage we owe to Him, that great Spirit of the universe, by whose will nature itself exists, and through whom the fields are covered with harvests, and the trees are loaded with fruits.

“Piety, however, is not the only motive that brings the American ladies in crowds to the various places of worship. Deprived of all shows and public diversions whatever, the church is the grand theatre where they attend to display their extravagance and finery. There they come, dressed off in the finest silks, and overshadowed with a profusion of the finest plumes. The hair of the head is raised and supported on cushions to an extravagant height, somewhat resembling the manner in which the French ladies wore their hair some years ago. Instead of powdering, they often wash the head, which answers the purpose well enough, as their hair is commonly of an agreeable light color; but the more fashionable among them begin now to adopt the present European method of setting off the head to the best advantage. They are of a large size and well proportioned; their features generally regular, and their complexion fair, without ruddiness. They have less cheerfulness and ease of behavior than the ladies of France, but more of greatness and dignity. I have even imagined that I have seen something in them that answers to the ideas of beauty we gain from the masterpieces of those artists of antiquity which are yet

extant in our days. The stature of the men is tall, and their carriage erect; but the make is rather slim, and the color inclining to pale. They are not so curious in their dress as the women; but everything about them is neat and proper. At twenty-five years of age, the women begin to lose the freshness and bloom of youth; and at thirty-five their beauty is gone. The decay of the men is equally premature; and I am inclined to think that life is here proportionably short. I visited all the burying grounds in Boston, where it is usual to inscribe upon the stone over each grave the name and age of the deceased, and found that few who had arrived to a state of manhood ever advanced beyond their fortieth year, fewer still to seventy, and beyond that scarcely any."

Of the country folk of Massachusetts our author speaks as follows: "Scattered about among the forests, the inhabitants have little intercourse with each other except when they go to church. Their dwelling-houses are spacious, proper, airy, and built of wood, and are at least one story in height; and herein they keep all their furniture and substance. In all of them that I have seen I never failed to discover traces of their active and inventive genius. They all know how to read; and the greater part of them take the gazette printed in their village, which they often dignify with the name of town or city. I do not remember ever to have entered a single house without seeing a large family Bible, out of which they read on evenings and Sundays, to their household. They are of a cold, slow, and indolent disposition, and averse to labor — the soil, with a moderate tillage, supplying them with considerably more than they consume. They go and return from their fields on horseback; and in all this country you will scarcely see a traveller on foot. The mildness of their character is as much owing

to climate as to their customs and manners; for you find the same softness of disposition even in the animals of the country.

“The Americans of these parts are very hospitable. They have commonly but one bed in the house; and the chaste spouse, although she were alone, would divide it with her guest without hesitation or fear. What history relates of the virtues of the young Lacedemonian women is far less extraordinary. There is here such a confidence in the public virtue, that from Boston to Providence I have often met young women travelling alone, on horseback or in small riding chairs, through the woods, even when the day was far upon the decline. In these fortunate retreats, the father of a family sees his happiness and importance increasing with the number of his children. He is not tormented with the ambitious desire of placing them in a rank of life in which they might blush to own him for a father. Bred up under his eye, and formed by his example, they will not cover his old age with shame, nor bring those cares and vexations upon him that would sink his gray hairs with sorrow to the tomb. He no more fears this than he would a fancied indigence that might one day come upon him, wound his paternal feelings, and make the tender partner of his bed repent that she was ever the mother of his children. Like him, they will bound their cares, their pleasures, and even their ambition, to the sweet toils of a rural life—to the raising and multiplying their herds, and the cultivating and enlarging their fields and orchards. These American husbandmen, more simple in their manners than our peasants, have also less of their roughness and rusticity. More enlightened, they possess neither their low cunning nor dissimulation. Farther removed from luxurious arts, and less laborious, they

are not so much attached to ancient usages, but are far more dexterous in inventing and perfecting whatever tends to the conveniency and comfort of life. Pulse, Indian corn, and milk are their most common kinds of food. They also use much tea; and this sober infusion constitutes the chief pleasure of their lives. There is not a single person to be found who does not drink it out of china cups and saucers; and upon your entering a house, the greatest mark of civility and welcome they can show you is to invite you to drink it with them."

"What a spectacle," our author continues, "do these settlements even now, already exhibit to our view, considering that they are of but little more than a century standing! Spacious and level roads already traverse the vastly extended forests of this country. Large and costly buildings have been raised, either for the meeting of the representatives of the states, for an asylum to the defenders of their country in distress, or for the convenience of instructing young citizens in language, arts, and sciences. These last, which are, for the most part, endowed with considerable possessions and revenues, are also furnished with libraries, and are under the direction of able masters, invited hither from different parts of Europe. Ship-yards are established in all their ports, and they already rival the best artists of the Old World in point of naval architecture. Numerous mines have been opened; and they have several founderies for casting cannon, which are in no respect inferior to our own. And if the height of the architects' skill has not yet covered their waters with those prodigious bridges which are wont to be extended over the waves, and unite the opposite shores of large rivers, as with us, still industry and perseverance have supplied the want thereof. Planks, laid upon beams, lashed together

with stout rings, and which may be taken apart at the pleasure of their builders, are, by their buoyancy, as solid and useful as our firmest works designed for the same end. In other places, where a river is too deep for fixing the foundation of a bridge on its bottom, a stout mass of timber work is thrown over, in a curved line, supported only at the extremities — the internal strength of the structure supporting it in every other part.

“Every house and dwelling contains within itself almost all the original and most necessary arts. The hand that traces out the furrow, knows also how to give the shapeless block of wood what form it pleases; how to prepare the hides of cattle for use, and extract spirit from the juice of fruits. The young rural maiden, whose charming complexion has not been turned tawny by the burning rays of the sun, or withered by blasting winds,—upon whom pale misery has never stamped its hateful impressions,—knows how to spin wool, cotton, flax, and afterwards weave them into cloth.”¹

Such is the picture of life in Massachusetts painted by a foreigner nearly a century ago. It has its pleasing features, as well as its manifest defects; and much that would have been to us interesting is left unsaid. The author omits to tell us that people in those days travelled wholly by stage coaches; that the arrival of a coach at different points was a noted incident in the history of the day; that the driver of a coach was looked up to as a man of no little importance; and that the departure of the coaches was duly

¹ These extracts are taken from a rare volume, entitled, “*New Travels through North America, in a Series of Letters, exhibiting the History of the Victorious Campaign of the Allied Armies, under his Excellency General Washington and the Count de Rochambeau, in the year 1781, by the Abbé Robin,*” — a copy of which is in the Boston Public Library.

announced in the papers of the day. He omits to say that the mails were conveyed by "post riders," and that the rates on single letters varied, according to distance, from five pence one farthing to two shillings and eight pence. He mentions the village "gazette;" but says nothing of the meanness of the paper on which it was printed, the poor quality of the ink, and the inelegance of the typography. Literature was cultivated to some extent in these days, but there had as yet appeared no great names in the galaxy of American writers. Every child knew "Mother Goose's Melodies" by heart; and the "New England Primer" was read in every school.

The domestic habits of the father were those, also, of the son, being handed down from one generation to another. People generally indulged in but few amusements. Theatrical exhibitions were thought to tend to looseness and immorality, and were, therefore, for a long time prohibited. It was not until 1794 that the first "play house" was erected in Boston. The old folks also frowned upon the art of dancing, but their abhorrence did not prevent the younger portion of the community from tripping, at "husking parties," to the music of "fiddle and flute."

With regard to dress, "gentlemen wore hats with broad brims, turned up into three corners, with loops at the sides; long coats, with large pocket folds and cuffs, and without collars. The buttons were commonly plated, but sometimes of silver, often as large as a half dollar. Shirts had bosoms and wrist ruffles; and all wore gold or silver shirt buttons at the wrist, united by a link. The waistcoat was long, with large pockets; and the neckcloth, or scarf, was of fine white linen, or figured stuff, brodered, and the ends hung loosely upon the breast. The breeches were usually close,

with silver buckles at the knee. The legs were covered with long gray stockings, which, on holidays, were exchanged for black or white silk. Boots with broad white tops, or shoes with straps and large silver buckles, completed the equipment.

“Ladies wore caps, long, stiff stays, and high-heeled shoes. Their bonnets were of silk or satin, and usually black. Gowns were extremely long-waisted, with tight sleeves. Another fashion was very short sleeves, with an immense frill at the elbow, leaving the rest of the arm naked. A large, flexible hoop, three or four feet in diameter, was for some time quilted into the hem of the gown, making an immense display of the lower person. A long, round cushion, stuffed with cotton or hair, and covered with black crape, was laid across the head, over which the hair was combed back and fastened. It was almost the universal custom, also, for women to wear gold beads — thirty-nine little hollow globes, about the size of a pea, hung on a thread, and tied round the neck. Sometimes this string would prove false to its trust, — at an assembly, perhaps, — and then, O, such a time to gather them up before they should be trampled on and ruined! Working women wore petticoats and half gowns, drawn with a cord round the waist, and neat’s leather shoes. Women did not go a shopping every day then; there were few shops to go to, and those contained only such articles as were indispensable, and in very limited variety.”¹

In the spring of 1784 the census of the state was taken. It showed an aggregate population of three hundred and fifty-eight thousand souls, of whom four thousand three hundred and seventy-seven were blacks. The census of

¹ Lewis, *Hist. of Lynn*, 220, 221.

1776 showed a population of three hundred and forty-nine thousand; and the small increase in the period of eight years was owing partly to the losses sustained by the war, and partly to the removal of many families to other states.

CHAPTER XVIII.

SHAYS' REBELLION.

THE revolutionary war brought serious embarrassments, both public and private. One mode of relief, after the war ended, was to engage in commerce; and all who had credit in England engaged in importing English manufactures. This traffic drained the country of specie, and introduced articles of luxury, which the inhabitants needed not, and for which they contracted debts, which they could not pay. From such causes financial embarrassments were increased. Importations were discountenanced, and those who made them, not only made bad debts, but attracted public odium. Frequent insolvencies caused endless prosecutions, and public, no less than private credit, was well nigh ruined. In the late war, Massachusetts had furnished one third of all the effective force, and as its proportion of the national debt, the state owed five millions of dollars. On its own account, and not as a member of the Union, it owed over four millions of dollars; to the soldiers and officers which it had sent to the war it owed upward of six hundred thousand dollars, thus making its total debt nearly ten millions of dollars. The resources of the state to pay so much of this debt as was immediately payable, were only the revenues derived from importation in the low state of commerce, direct taxation on

estates, and polls of persons overwhelmed with embarrassments.¹

This condition of affairs brought on a state of high excitement. In different parts of the state armed combinations arose, for the purpose of preventing the sitting of the courts, and this object was effected in many of the counties. Lawyers were associated with the general distress, and were considered to be principal causers of it, merely from the performance of professional duties. Ere long intelligent citizens caught up the mob spirit created by the ignorant demagogues of the several communities, and when the infuriated resorted to arms, and refused to pay the price of their privileges, nothing but vigilance could oppose their fury, and quell the tumult occasioned by their misconduct.

In August, 1786, a convention, composed of delegates from about fifty towns in the county of Hampshire, was held at Hatfield. This convention continued in session three days, and announced its object to be "to consider and provide a remedy for the existing grievances." The delegates first voted, that "the convention was constitutional," and then proceeded to consider the causes of complaint among the people. They alleged that the senate in the legislature was a restraint, upon their immediate deputies or agents; they objected to the rule of representation as unequal; insisted that all salaries ought to be granted annually, and all civil officers be appointed by the General Court. They believed that fees for judges and others were too great, the courts of Common Pleas and of Sessions were unnecessary, and the salaries of public officers, in general, were too high. With regard to the state of

¹ Familiar Letters, 2-3.

the finances, they proposed that paper bills should be issued, be made a tender, and be received in payment of public securities and other notes; they also declared that the constitution should be revised and altered, and passed a vote that the governor should be required to call the General Court together immediately to act upon these various subjects.

Such proceedings were naturally calculated to encourage the lawless; and, four days after the rising of the convention, an armed mob assembled in Northampton, and prevented the sitting of the Court of Common Pleas. As soon as the governor had received tidings of this outbreak, he issued a proclamation forbidding all assemblies of the people for unlawful purposes, and calling upon the officers of the government and the good citizens of the commonwealth to aid in suppressing such dangerous combinations. This proclamation, however, had little effect, and the spirit of insurrection which was burning in Worcester and Hampshire spread rapidly into other counties.

In September the Court of Common Pleas for Worcester county was not suffered to be opened, and a few days later, an insurgent gathering resolved to prevent the regular session of the Supreme Court in Springfield. The governor, being acquainted of this latter project, ordered General Shepard, with a body of six hundred of the militia, to oppose any violent proceedings. On the 26th of the month the troops were posted on duty, and the judges prepared to hold court; but the insurgents, under the leadership of Daniel Shays, also assembled in superior numbers. These insurgents threatened all who refused to join them, and their whole conduct was insolent. They requested of the judges that no indictments might be sustained against any

of their party; on the other hand, the judges refused to receive any message from the rioters, and exhibited great firmness. So great became the alarm of the citizens, that it was concluded to adjourn the court on the third day of the session. On the same day the mob dispersed.

At the opening of the General Court on the last of the month, the governor reviewed the late proceedings, and declared that there was need of some efficient measures to restore tranquillity; at the same time he expressed a desire that all suitable forbearance and relief should be extended to the people under their heavy burdens. The General Court censured the conduct of the insurgents, and, after some discussion, suspended the privilege of the writ of habeas corpus for eight months. This was a great relief to the governor, for there was a disposition manifested by a portion of the citizens to represent his firmness as severity, and to charge him with a want of feeling for the distresses of the people. But proof was thus afforded that all branches of the legislature were alarmed at the violent proceedings of the insurgents, and were united in support of the constituted authorities of the state.

In the mean time disturbances were renewed, and the governor, as commander-in-chief, called upon the officers of the militia to see that their divisions were organized and equipped to take the field at the shortest notice. Warrants were issued for the arrest and imprisonment of the leaders of the insurgents in Middlesex, and toward the last of November three of the rioters were taken to Boston and cast into jail. The rebels were not disheartened, and still avowed a determination to "seek redress of their grievances in any way which was practicable." They prepared to prevent the sitting of the Court of Common Pleas at

Worcester, in December ; but having assembled to the number of three hundred and fifty, they were opposed by the militia, and driven to an eminence before the court-house. On the 6th, Shays arrived with re-enforcements, and thus the number of the rioters was swelled to nearly a thousand. In great alarm, the courts adjourned, after being subjected to repeated insults ; and soon after the insurgents themselves left Worcester.

Proceedings equally disgraceful took place also in other counties, and at length matters had gone too far to be peaceably settled. To the government only one alternative was left, namely, to act. The advice of the Council was sought, and with their approval, orders were issued for the raising of a body of forty-four hundred rank and file from the different counties, with four regiments of artillery from Suffolk and Middlesex. General Lincoln was placed in command of these troops. This proceeding restored quiet at the east, but the western part of the state was still a flame. Luke Day, of Springfield, the master spirit of the insurrection, had assembled four hundred men, well armed, and was preparing to attack the arsenal at Springfield. Shays, also, with three hundred of his followers, was in the neighborhood. General Shepard, with nine hundred men, took possession of the post, and awaited the conflict.

On the 25th of January, 1787, the insurgents prepared to storm the arsenal, and Day sent an insolent message to General Shepard, demanding that the troops in Springfield should lay down their arms, and return to their several homes upon parole. Shepard, however, replied that he was resolved at all hazards to defend his post. The insurgents approached, with an unbroken front, to within fifty yards

of the arsenal. General Shepard gave the order to fire, and a pitiable scene of confusion was the result. "Murder!" shouted the mob, as they fled in disorder to Ludlow, ten miles distant. Shays and his followers then withdrew to Chicopee, while Day remained inactive at West Springfield.

On the 27th General Lincoln arrived, and immediately set out in pursuit of Day. General Shepard, with the Hampshire troops, followed Shays up the river. Three days later the insurgents, in considerable numbers, posted themselves at Pelham, and gave threats of further hostilities. Once more the discomfited leader was ordered to surrender; but this he refused to do, except "on the condition of a general pardon." While the General Court, again in session, was approving the conduct of the governor, and was passing severe measures for the suppression of the rebellion, Shays withdrew his forces to Petersham, and was quickly pursued by Lincoln. On the night of the 4th of February the forces of the latter entered the town. The rebels, who had been reposing in fancied security, fled precipitously. One hundred and fifty of them, however, were taken as prisoners, and then dismissed to their homes, after having taken the oath of allegiance.

This victory tended to encourage the friends of the government, many of whom believed that the rebellion was now virtually at an end. A reward of one hundred and fifty pounds was issued for the apprehension of the leaders of the insurgents; the vigilance of the government was fully aroused, and hundreds of the patriotic citizens rallied in defence of the constitution. The House promised indemnity to the rebels on the conditions that they, "having laid down their arms, and taken the oath of allegiance to the commonwealth, should keep the peace for three years, and,

during that term, should not serve as jurors, be eligible to any town office, or any other office under the government, should not hold or exercise the employment of school-masters, innkeepers, or retailers of spirituous liquors, or give their votes for the same term of time for any officer, civil or military, within the commonwealth, unless they should, after the first day of May, 1788, exhibit plenary evidence of their having returned to their allegiance and kept the peace, and of their possessing such an unequivocal attachment to the government as should appear to the General Court a sufficient ground to discharge them from all or any of these disqualifications." Those absolutely excepted from the indemnity were "such as were not citizens of the state, such as had been members of any General Court in the state, or had been employed in any commissioned office, civil or military; such as, after delivering up their arms, and taking the oath of allegiance during the rebellion, had again taken and borne arms against the government; such as had acted as committees, counsellors, or advisers to the rebels; and such as, in former years, had been in arms against the government, in the capacity of commissioned officers, and were afterwards pardoned, and had been concerned in the rebellion."¹

To many these measures appeared to be judicious, while others were led to suppose that "if the number of the disfranchised had been less, the public peace would have been equally safe, and the general happiness promoted." General Lincoln sided with this latter class, and gave expression to his statesmanlike views on the subject in a letter which he addressed to Washington. With regard to the Indemnity Act, he observes that it "includes so great a

¹ Minot, *Hist. of the Insurrection*, 138.

description of persons, that, in its operation, many towns will be disfranchised. This will injure the whole ; for multiplied disorders must be experienced under such circumstances. The people who have been in arms against the government, and their abettors, have complained, and do now complain, that grievances exist, and that they ought to have redress. We have invariably said to them, ' You are wrong in flying to arms ; you should seek redress in a constitutional way, and wait the decision of the legislature.' These observations were undoubtedly just ; but will they not now complain, and say that we have cut them off from all hope of redress from that quarter, for we have denied them a representation in that legislative body by whose laws they must be governed. While they are in this situation they never will be reconciled to government, nor will they submit to the terms of it from any other motive than fear, excited by a constant military armed force extended over them.

" While these distinctions are made, the subjects of them will remain invidious, and there will be no affection existing among the inhabitants of the same neighborhood or families, where they have thought and acted differently. Those who have been opposers to government will view with a jealous eye those who have been supporters of it, and consider them as the cause which produced the disqualifying act, and who are now keeping it alive. Many will never submit to it. They will rather leave the state than do it. And if we could reconcile ourselves to this loss, and on its account make no objection, yet these people will leave behind them near and dear connections, who will feel themselves wounded through their friends.

" The influence of these people is so fully checked, that

we have nothing to apprehend from them now but their individual votes. When this is the case, to express fears from that quarter is impolitic. Admit that some of these very people should obtain a seat in the Assembly the next year, we have nothing to fear from the measure; so far from that, I think it would produce the most salutary effects. For my own part, I wish that those in general who should receive a pardon were at liberty to exercise all the rights of good citizens; for I believe it to be the only way which can be adopted to make them good members of society, and to reconcile them to that government under which we wish them to live. If we are afraid of their weight, and they are for a given time deprived of certain privileges, they will come forth hereafter with redoubled vigor. I think we have much more to fear from a certain supineness which has seized on a great proportion of our citizens, who have been totally inattentive to the exercise of those rights conveyed to them by the constitution of this commonwealth. If the good people of the states will not exert themselves in the appointment of proper characters for the executive and legislative branches of government, no disfranchising acts will ever make us a happy and well governed people.

“I cannot, therefore, on the whole, but think that, if the opposers to government in general had been disqualified, on a pardon, from serving as jurors on the trial of those who had been in sentiment with them, we should have been perfectly safe. For, as I observed, these people have now no influence as a body, and their individual votes are not to be dreaded; for we certainly shall not admit that the majority is with them in their political sentiments. If

they are, how, upon republican principles, can we justly exclude them from the right of governing?"¹

Disturbances had now in a great measure subsided, and the General Court passed a resolution for holding special sessions of the Supreme Judicial Court in the counties of Hampshire, Berkshire, and Middlesex for the trial of persons who had been taken into custody on account of the late opposition to the government. Three commissioners — the Hons. Benjamin Lincoln, Samuel Phillips, Jr., and Samuel A. Otis — were appointed, with authority to promise indemnity to such as might choose to return to their allegiance. The leaders, Shays, Wheeler, Parsons, and Day, together with all those who had fired upon, or killed any of the citizens in the peace of the commonwealth, the members of the rebel council of war, and all persons against whom the governor and council had issued a warrant, were excluded from the protection of this commission.

Whilst the government was desirous of bringing all real offenders to justice, it was equally anxious to afford every possible relief to the people, consistently with a strict regard for the public welfare. To this latter end, it agreed to lessen the number of terms of the Court of Common Pleas in several counties, and to reduce the amount of fees in various cases of public officers. The General Court also passed a bill reducing the governor's salary one third part. On the ground that such a bill was unconstitutional, he refused his signature; and as it failed to receive the

¹ Barry, iii. 251, seq. On the 13th of March, 1787, Washington replied to Lincoln, saying, "I am extremely happy to find that your sentiments upon the disfranchising act are such as they are. Upon my first seeing it, I formed an opinion perfectly coincident with yours, viz., that measures more generally lenient might have produced equally as good an effect, without entirely alienating the affections of the people from the government." — Sparks's Washington, ix. 240.

vote required by the constitution, the bill was dropped, and the legislature was prorogued to the next annual election.

In the mean time the Supreme Judicial Court was employed in trying the offenders, and the commissioners were mildly exercising the authority which had been intrusted to them. Of this commission, the benefit was taken by nearly eight hundred persons; while of prisoners tried, six were convicted of treason in Berkshire county, six in Hampshire, one in Worcester, and one in Middlesex. All of these received sentence of death, but were afterwards pardoned. At nearly the same time a seditious member of the legislature was sentenced to sit on the gallows, with a rope about his neck, and to pay a fine of fifty pounds.

Notwithstanding the energetic measures of Bowdoin in suppressing the rebellion, the attention of the people was once more turned to Hancock. The latter was always the popular favorite, and such as sought relief from the public burdens expected more from him than from Bowdoin. Many who had been, in principle, opposed to rebellious measures, and those who promoted them, or were engaged in them, uniting in favor of Hancock, constituted a majority of the electors.

When Hancock succeeded Bowdoin, all of the causes of the rebellion still remained. "Taxes were exceedingly burdensome, and means for payment wholly inadequate. Commerce was conducted to great disadvantage, and mostly in British vessels. The importations were of articles which the sensible men of the day considered to be in part unnecessary, and in part worse than useless, and not to be had without draining the country of specie. But in the course of this year the aspect of affairs changed in some

degree, and inspired hopes that difficulties might be surmounted. The fear of new commotions died away; the courts were no more impeded."¹

Public peace was gradually restored, and more enduring confidence was placed in the government. Even the hardest of the criminals, the leaders in the late insurrection, even Parsons and Shays, convinced of their error, preferred petitions for pardon and indemnity, and their prayer was granted. Thus the measures of the government had been completed in success; the people approved of these measures, and the insurgents regretted the part they had taken in the affair, and craved forgiveness. Still, the rebellion was deeply and justly regretted, as a stain upon the character of the people of the state; but it afforded an opportunity to show the strength of a republican government, and the union of firmness with clemency in the rulers served to attach the citizens more strongly to the constitution, and to convince them of the necessity of a supreme civil authority in the commonwealth.

¹ Familiar Letters, 13.

CHAPTER XIX.

ADOPTION OF THE FEDERAL CONSTITUTION.

ON the 14th of May, 1787, about fifty delegates, representatives from eleven different states, met in convention in the State House in Philadelphia, — in the same hall where the Declaration of Independence was adopted, — for the purpose of framing an independent constitution.

The convention sat with closed doors; and not even a transcript of their minutes was permitted to be made public. The various disturbances in different parts of the land had shaken the faith of many in the power of the multitude to govern themselves. Said Elbridge Gerry, in the convention, "All the evils we experience flow from an excess of democracy. The people do not want virtue, but are under the dupes of pretended patriots; they are daily misled into the most baleful measures of opinions. What was most to be desired was a central government, which would give security to all the states, and at the same time not conflict in its powers with their rights." It was found to be no easy matter to arrange satisfactorily the representation in the two branches of the proposed government. The smaller states were alarmed, lest their rights should be infringed upon by the overwhelming majority of members coming from the larger ones. This difficulty was removed by constituting the Senate, in which the states were represented equally, without reference to their population; each being entitled to two members, while in the House of Representatives the

states were to be represented in proportion to their population. After four months of labor, during which every article of the proposed constitution was thoroughly discussed, the draught was finished and signed by all the members present, with the exception of Elbridge Gerry, of Massachusetts, George Mason and Edmund Randolph, of Virginia. This result was not obtained without much discussion; and at one time, indeed, it was feared that the Convention would dissolve, leaving its work unfinished. Then it was that Franklin — now in his eightieth year, and who thirty years before, at a convention in Albany, had proposed a plan of union for the colonies — arose and suggested that they should choose a chaplain to open their sessions with prayer. “I have lived a long time,” said he; “and the longer I live the more convincing proofs I see of this truth, that God governs the affairs of men. And if a sparrow cannot fall to the ground without his notice, is it possible that an empire can rise without his aid?” At length the Constitution was presented to Congress, by whom it was submitted to the people of the states for their approval or rejection.

On the 9th of the following January, a convention in Massachusetts “for the purpose of assenting to and ratifying the constitution recommended by the grand federal convention,” met at Boston. The three hundred and fifty members of this body were among the most eminent men in the state. Governor Hancock was chosen president of the convention, Judge William Cushing vice president, George Richards Minot, Esq. secretary, and Jacob Kuhn messenger.¹ The sessions of the convention were held at first in the Brattle Street Church; but “on account of the difficulty of hear-

¹ For nearly fifty years Mr. Kuhn served as messenger to the General Court.

ing," this house was "found inconvenient," and the convention therefore adjourned to the representatives' chamber, in the Old State House, and from thence, at a later date, to the "meeting-house in Long Lane."¹ At the instance of Caleb Strong, afterwards governor of the state, the preliminary motion was voted, "that this convention, sensible how important it is that the great subject submitted to their determination should be discussed and considered with moderation, candor, and deliberation, will enter into a free conversation on the several parts thereof, by paragraphs, until every member shall have had opportunity to express his sentiments on the same; after which, the convention will consider and debate at large the question whether this convention will adopt and ratify the proposed constitution, before any vote is taken expressive of the sense of the convention upon the whole or any part thereof."²

A long discussion was held relative to biennial elections. Dr. Taylor contended that the practice of annual elections "had been considered as a safeguard of the liberties of the people, and the annihilation of it the avenue through which tyranny would enter;" and the Hon. Mr. White declared that "he would rather they should be for six months than for two years." In reply, Governor Bowdoin affirmed that "if the revolution of the heavenly bodies was to be the principle to regulate elections, it was not fixed to any period; as in some of the systems it would be very short, and in the last discovered planet it would be eighty of our years." General Brooks, with large wisdom, observed that no instance had been cited in which biennial elections had proved "destructive to the liberties of the people;" that the Parliaments of Great Britain had been triennial and septennial,

¹ Since known as the Federal Street Church.

² Debates, 25, 26.

"yet life, liberty, and property, it was generally conceded, were nowhere better secured than in Great Britain." The friends of biennial elections were more numerous than the opponents of the measure, and consequently carried the day. A long debate also took place on the mode of choosing representatives on property qualifications, and on the "three fifths clause." The subject of slavery was also considered.

"The members of the southern states," it was said, "like ourselves, have their prejudices. It would not do to abolish slavery, by an act of Congress, in a moment, and so destroy what our southern brethren consider as property. But we may say, that although slavery is not smitten by an apoplexy, yet it has received a mortal wound, and will die of consumption."¹ When the ninth section of the first article of the constitution was read, "Mr. Neale, from Kittery," we are told, "went over the ground of objection to this section, on the idea that the slave trade was allowed to be continued for twenty years. His profession, he said, obliged him to bear witness against anything that should favor the making merchandise of the bodies of men; and unless his objection was removed, he could not put his hand to the constitution. Other gentlemen said, in addition to this idea, that there was not even a provision that the negroes ever shall be free; and General Thompson exclaimed, 'Mr. President, shall it be said that, after we have established our own independence and freedom, we make slaves of others? O Washington! what a name has he had! how he has immortalized himself! But he holds those in slavery who have as good a right to be free as he has. He is still for self; and, in my opinion, his character has sunk fifty per cent.'"²

¹ *Debates*, 68.

² *Debates*, 143, 144.

General Heath, at a later stage of the convention, said, "The paragraph respecting the migration or importation of such persons as any of the states now existing shall think proper to admit, is one of those considered during my absence, and I have heard nothing on the subject save what has been mentioned this morning; but I think the gentlemen who have spoken have carried the matter rather too far on both sides. I apprehend that it is not in our power to do anything for or against those who are in slavery in the Southern States. No gentlemen within these walls detests every idea of slavery more than I do; it is generally detested by the people of the commonwealth; and I ardently hope that the time will come when our brethren in the Southern States will view it as we do, and put a stop to it; but to this we have no right to compel them. Two questions naturally arise, if we ratify the constitution: Shall we do anything by our act to hold the blacks in slavery? or shall we become partakers of other men's sins? I think neither of them. Each state is sovereign and independent, to a certain degree; and they have a right to, and will regulate their own internal affairs as to themselves appears proper. And shall we refuse to eat, or to drink, or to be united with those who do not think or act just as we do? Truly not. We are not in this case partakers of other men's sins; for in nothing do we voluntarily encourage the slavery of our fellow-men. A restriction is laid on the federal government, which could not be avoided and a union take place. The federal convention went as far as they could. The migration and importation is confined to the states now existing only; new states cannot claim it. Congress, by their ordinance for erecting new states, some time since, declared that the new states shall be republican, and that

there shall be no slavery in them. But whether those in slavery in the Southern States will be emancipated after the year 1808, I do not pretend to determine; I rather doubt it.”¹

After the “conversation on the constitution by paragraphs” had ended, and each article had been fully considered, it was moved “that this convention do assent to and ratify” the same. By this motion, the whole subject was brought before the assembly; and it at once became evident that the opponents were quite as numerous as the friends of the constitution. At this juncture, in order to promote unity, General Heath moved that, if in the judgment of the convention there were defects in the constitution, and amendments were deemed necessary, it might be advisable to define these amendments, and forward them to Congress with the vote of ratification, as a signification of the wishes of the state, before the subject was fully disposed of, that the whole instrument should be carefully revised. A committee was appointed to draw up the amendments, and on the 6th of February the main question was taken, and decided in the affirmative, by a vote of one hundred and eighty-seven to one hundred and sixty-eight. The amendments to the constitution were embodied in nine articles.

Thus closed the Massachusetts convention for the ratification of the constitution. Happy for the state, and for the United States, a majority of votes, even though small, was obtained for it. Many of those who gave their vote against the constitution might have been as honest as those who advocated it; but it is impossible to admit that they had as great wisdom and foresight. Moreover, the former had de-

¹ Debates, 152, 153.

clared their determination to support it, as it had been approved and adopted by the majority; while the latter, by whose influence it was accepted, ranked among the most distinguished patriots of the state. To no men was the country more indebted for preservation from ruin, and for security of the blessings of good government, than to those who procured the acceptance of the federal constitution in Massachusetts.

The constitution having been ratified by the vote of the requisite number of states, the General Congress of the United States resolved, on the 13th of September, "that the first Wednesday in January next be the day for appointing electors in the several states which before the said day shall have ratified the said constitution; that the first Wednesday in February next be the day for the electors to assemble in their respective states, and vote for a president; and that the first Wednesday in March next be the time, and the present seat of Congress (New York) the place, for commencing proceedings under said constitution." At the appointed time the electors assembled in their respective states, and by the unanimous vote of the continent, General Washington was called to be president, and the Hon. John Adams to be vice president of the United States. On the 30th of April, 1789, Washington was solemnly inducted into his office; the oath prescribed by the constitution was taken; the chancellor exclaimed, "Long live George Washington!" the first message was delivered; the replies of the Senate and the House were returned; and thus the government of the United States was peaceably established.

Shortly after his inauguration, President Washington made the tour of the Eastern States, accompanied by his official and private secretaries. A disagreement arose between the

governor and the town's committee, to which of them belonged the honor of receiving the president at the line of the town. From this cause there was a long delay, and the president was exposed to a raw north-east wind, by which exposure he was visited by a severe cold. Many other persons were exposed and affected in like manner, and the affection became so general as to be called the Washington influenza. The president entered Boston on horse-back. He did not bow to the spectators as he passed, but sat on his horse with a calm, dignified air. He remained in the town about a week, partook of a public dinner, dined with the governor, and attended an oratorio in King's Chapel. On his departure for Portsmouth, he showed his regard for punctuality. He gave notice that he should depart at eight o'clock in the morning; and he left the door at the moment. The escort not being ready, he went without them; and they followed and overtook him on the way.¹

By the adoption of the constitution, the citizens of Massachusetts, as well as the other states, were divided into two parties,—the federalists and the anti-federalists. The former were friends of the new constitution, and the latter were its opponents. This may be called the second division into parties; the preceding one, during the war, having been that of whigs and tories, borrowed from English politics, as far back as the reign of the Stuarts. Both the federalists and the anti-federalists were honest, and acted conscientiously in the advocacy of their measures. Both were friendly to a republican government and the union of the states. The names which they gave one another, for the sake of mutual disparagement, were still more false than their original denominations were imperfect and improperly

¹ Familiar Letters, 15.

opposed to each other. It may be, indeed, that "the federal party was at the same time, aristocratic — favorable to the preponderance of the higher classes, as well as to the power of the central government;" and that "the democratic party was also the local party — desiring at once the supremacy of the majority, and the almost entire independence of the state governments." But if such a difference did exist, the lines of demarcation were not closely drawn.

The General Congress continued in session till the 29th of September, busily employed in passing the laws necessary to the organization of the government. In this lapse of time the construction of the powers intended to be given was very ably discussed. The number of senators did not then exceed eighteen. The number of representatives attending was about eighty. Among the subjects debated at this Congress, was the president's power of appointment, and removal of the officers of his cabinet. The history of the country shows in what manner this power may be used; and some, who were then opposed to leaving it to the president alone, would have seen their predictions realized if they had survived to the present day. It is perceived now that the framers of the constitution erred in not restricting executive power, and that the first legislators erred in like manner. Though they could not have expected a succession of Washingtons, they are excusable for not dreaming of Jeffersons and Jacksons.

Another point much debated was, whether the secretaries of the executive should make reports to Congress. The duties and difficulties of the treasury department may be discovered in Mr. Ames's remarks in support of the proposition. "Among other things," he said, "the situation of our finances, owing to a variety of causes, presents to the



John Adams
at the age of 59

imagined a deep, dark, and dreary chasm, impossible to be reduced to order unless the mind of the architect be clear and expansive, and his power commensurate to the object. It is with the intention of letting a little sunshine into the business that the present arrangement is proposed." The tonnage duty was another subject considered. Even then the spirit that never flinched nor yielded in favor of France, till the conclusion of the war in 1810, was clearly apparent.

Under the auspicious influence of the federal government, a united confidence was strengthened among the citizens of the commonwealth and of the United States. The common employments and arts of life were encouraged; commercial enterprises increased; the credit of government was restored by wise and efficient provisions in the finances of the treasury; the regulation of foreign commerce; and the wisdom of a revision. The nation took rapid advancement from a state of embarrassment and indecision, to wealth, power, and respectability.

The beneficial work begun by the Congress of 1789 was continued by the Congress of 1791. On the 17th of August, of this year, Congress agreed to assume the public debt of two millions of dollars of the debt of the states which was apportioned among the several states according to the expenses which each had incurred during the late war. Of the debt of Massachusetts, between five and six millions of dollars were assumed by the general government, the remainder of the debt—amounting to eleven and a half millions—was borne by our state. This assumption of the state debt did not wholly relieve the people, and the business which remained was a source of hope and frequent complaint. Public embarrassments, however, did not check private enterprise. The whole state was given to the work-



John Adams
1771-1848

imagination a deep, dark, and dreary chaos, impossible to be reduced to order, unless the mind of the architect be clear and capacious, and his power commensurate to the object. It is with the intention of letting a little sunshine into the business that the present arrangement is proposed." The tonnage duty was another subject considered. Even then the spirit that never tired nor yielded in favor of France, till the conclusion of the war in 1815, was clearly apparent.

Under the auspicious influence of the federal government, a mutual confidence was strengthened among the citizens of the commonwealth and of the United States. The common employments and arts of life were encouraged; commercial enterprises increased; the credit of government was restored by wise and efficient provisions in the finances of the country, the regulation of foreign commerce, and the uniform collection of a revenue. The nation made rapid advancements, from a state of embarrassment and imbecility, to wealth, power, and respectability.

The beneficial work begun by the Congress of 1789 was resumed by the Congress of 1790. On the 4th of August, of this year, Congress agreed to assume nearly twenty-two millions of dollars of the debts of the states, which sum was apportioned among the several states according to the expenses which each had incurred during the late war. Of the debt of Massachusetts, between five and six millions of dollars were assumed by the general government, the remainder of the debt — amounting to eleven and a half millions more — was borne by the state. This assumption of the state debt did not wholly relieve the people, and the burdens which remained were a cause of loud and frequent complaint. Public embarrassments, however, did not check private enterprise. The whole state was alive to the mak-

ing of internal improvements. Public roads were repaired, turnpikes were projected, and in 1793 the Middlesex Canal was constructed. Attention was given also to the revision of the state laws; the criminal code was ameliorated by the influence of Governor Hancock, and confinement at hard labor, as a punishment, was substituted for the disgraceful public whipping and cropping for theft. A workhouse was established on Castle Island, in Boston Harbor; and a few years later, the state prison was built at Charlestown. The Sunday law was likewise revised. Provisions were made by the state for promoting public education, and academies were established in very many localities. Before the close of the century nearly every town had provided for the proper training of its youth of both sexes. About this time, also, the first Sunday schools in Massachusetts were established.

In October, 1793, Governor Hancock died, and his funeral was conducted with great ceremony. The judges of the Supreme Judicial Court had, up to this time, worn robes of scarlet, faced with black velvet in winter, and black silk gowns in summer. On this occasion they appeared in the latter; but for some reason they wore neither robes nor gowns afterwards. Samuel Adams, the lieutenant governor of the state, now assumed the functions of the executive office, and in the following year was chosen governor. Of Mr. Adams's character, nothing could be said that has not already been said by abler pens. A man whose "pen, tongue, activity were exerted for his country, without fee or reward" for fifty years, could never be forgotten by his posterity.

Mr. Adams was a democrat; and, being one of the ablest advocates of state rights, was not, at first, an ardent admirer

of the federal constitution. But, nevertheless, he did not hesitate to acknowledge his fealty to the laws of the land. "I shall be called upon," he said, on taking the oath of lieutenant governor, "to make a declaration — and I shall do it most cheerfully — that the Commonwealth of Massachusetts is, and of right ought to be, a free, sovereign, and independent state. I shall be called upon to make another declaration, with the same solemnity — to support the Constitution of the United States. I see no inconsistency in this; for it must be intended that these constitutions should mutually aid and support each other."¹

In these years — 1789 to 1793 — the French had made such progress in their revolution as to have established their National Assembly, and the "great nation" had already become the terror of Europe. The tree of liberty was to be planted throughout the earth. The progress of French principles was very grateful to the opposition in the United States; nor to them only. Many of the federal party were rejoiced to see the coming freedom of a people who had so essentially aided in securing that of their own country; and in the course of the year 1792 it was thought that a public expression of joy ought to be made by the Americans. Hence, in Massachusetts and elsewhere, civic feasts were undertaken, some of them of the most ludicrous character. These affairs were carried to such a height of extravagance, that those who were the most active in them were also the most willing to repent of their folly.

The conduct of "citizen Genet," the first minister from the French republic, was very remarkable. His employers assumed that the United States were to engage in the French revolution, and authorized him to commission privateers and

¹ Bradford, iii. 29, 46.

to raise, in this country, forces to attack British and Spanish possessions on this side of the water. He undertook to execute these plans entirely independent of the government of the United States; and such was his audaciousness, that he neglected even to present his credentials to the government to which he was sent. Although his reception in this country was not unlike that usually extended to a victorious chief, he at length found that he could not carry on his manœuvres as independently as he had wished. He was told that the government was determined to adhere to the strictest neutrality; to which Genet had no objection, provided he could carry on the war himself. When told that, unless he should restrain his belligerent operations, he would be resisted by force, he threatened to appeal from the president to the people! The controversies thus occasioned by the conduct of Genet were exceedingly embarrassing to the president, and gave rise to dissensions in the cabinet. Genet was recalled, and a few weeks later the French republic fell; and thus the whole affair gradually slipped away into silence.¹

In the spring of 1794, John Jay, a man of the most disinterested patriotism, and then Chief Justice of the United States, was sent as envoy extraordinary to the court of St. James, for the purpose of negotiating with the English government relative to their recent depredations upon the commerce of the United States. This mission was an unexpected blow to the French party, who, as soon as they could rally, attacked not only the mission, but the administration also. In November a treaty was signed with Great Britain,

¹ Sparks's *Washington*, x. 387, seq. Hildreth's *U. S.*, iv. 434-441. After his recall Genet married a daughter of Governor Clinton, of New York, and passed the remainder of his life in this country.

and in the following March it arrived in the United States. As soon as it was made public, the whole country was inflamed. Not only the opposition, but a large portion of those who had supported the administration, were against the ratification. The former attacked the president in the most abusive manner; and addresses were sent in from nearly all the seaports, and from many interior towns, inveighing against the treaty. In Boston only one man raised his voice in favor of it; and at a town meeting, held on the 10th of July, a loud remonstrance was uttered against it. The Chamber of Commerce took a more liberal view, and sent an address to the president unanimously approving the treaty. Washington's reply to the selectmen of Boston plainly shows the serenity of a great and good mind, under as trying circumstances as could ever occur to any man.

"In every act of my administration," he wrote, "I have sought the happiness of my fellow-citizens. My system, for the attainment of this object, has been, to overlook all personal, local, and partial considerations; to contemplate the United States as one great whole; to confide that sudden impressions, when erroneous, would yield to candid reflection, and to consult only the permanent and substantial interests of our country. Nor have I departed from this line of conduct on the occasion which has produced the resolutions contained in your letter.

"Without a predilection for my own judgment, I have weighed with attention every argument which has at any time been brought into view. But the constitution is the guide which I never can abandon. It has assigned to the president the power of making treaties, with the advice and consent of the Senate. It was doubtless supposed that these two branches would combine, without passion, and with the

best means of information, those facts and principles, on which the success of our foreign relations will always depend; that they ought not to substitute for their own convictions the opinions of others, or to seek truth through any channel, but that of a temperate and well informed investigation. Under this persuasion, I have resolved on the manner of executing the duty before me.”¹

The treaty was ratified on the 24th of June by precisely a two thirds majority. In consequence, the citizens of Boston behaved like madmen; riots were frequent, houses were attacked, and Mr. Jay was burned in effigy. The governor unwisely refused to suppress the tumult, alleging that it was “a mere watermelon frolic — the harmless amusement of young persons.”²

In April, 1797, Increase Sumner, for several years a judge of the Supreme Judicial Court, was chosen governor of Massachusetts in the place of Mr. Adams, who, on account of the infirmities of his age, had refused to stand a re-election. In the same year, and one month earlier, John Adams had succeeded Washington as president of the United States. Mr. Adams, made up from natural propensities and from the circumstances of his life, came to the presidency at the time when more forbearance and discretion were required than many supposed him to possess. It was his misfortune to have been deficient in the rare excellence of attempting to see himself as others saw him; and he ventured to act as though everybody saw as he saw himself. He considered only what was right in his own views; and that was to be carried by main force, whatever were the obstacles. To many he appeared to be the counterpart of a genuine republican — tainted with conceits and affected with a vanity

¹ Sparks's Washington, ix. 42.

² Bradford, iii. 53.

which entirely disqualified him for the station he filled. Hence the rancor of these, his opponents, was increased by his success. But after all, whatever may be said relative to his faults and his blunders, it is impossible to read either the man or his writings, without believing that Mr. Adams was at least the equal, if not the superior, of his distinguished associates.

When Mr. Adams took the chair, he found the country involved in difficulties with France. France was jealous of the "increasing activity of the commercial relations betwixt the United States and England," and seemed desirous, by her decrees against American commerce, to force this country into a war with England. In view of all circumstances, the president resolved to prepare for the support of American rights; and thinking that the state of affairs demanded the deliberations of Congress, he convened that body on the 15th of May, 1797. In the same month he appointed, without the unanimous consent of his cabinet, Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, Elbridge Gerry, and John Marshall, commissioners to the court of France. These envoys arrived in Paris in October, and were received in a most shabby and discourteous manner; they were not even publicly accredited, and persons were sent in a private and informal manner to ascertain their views, and to learn upon what terms the United States were willing to purchase the friendship of France.

In consequence of such treatment, Mr. Pinckney and Mr. Marshall, in April, 1798, left France; but Mr. Gerry, upon invitation, remained to continue the negotiation, and for so doing was severely censured by his fellow-countrymen. When the despatches of the envoys were brought before Congress and before the country, the cry arose, "Millions for defence, not a cent for tribute." In the summer Con-

gress made provision for defence, by authorizing the president to raise an army of twenty thousand men. Commercial intercourse between the two countries was suspended; former treaties with France were declared to be no longer binding, and alien and sedition laws were passed. The whole country glowed with patriotism and defiance; and Mr. Adams considered this the proudest period of his public life.

War began in earnest — on the ocean. On the 9th of February, 1799, after an engagement of an hour and a quarter, the frigate "Constellation," of thirty-eight guns, captured in the West Indies the French frigate "l'Insurgent," of fifty-four guns. In the following year, same month, the Constellation silenced "l'Vengeance," but failed to capture her. About the same time the frigate "Constitution" was built in Boston, and ordered into service.

France was surprised by the hostility of America; and the loud complaints against Mr. Adams, among the friends of the government, prevented the continuance of a war, in which the United States had much to lose and nothing to gain. So far as mere interest was concerned, the president's policy was right; but so far as honor and dignity were involved, an entirely different opinion prevailed. When it was seen that the United States would not submit to insult, the French government made overtures for peace. The president accordingly appointed two commissioners of peace, and sent them to Paris. When they arrived, the Directory had disappeared, and Napoleon Bonaparte was First Consul. They were respectfully received, and a treaty was framed, and duly ratified by both parties.

Governor Sumner warmly sympathized with the president in this whole proceeding; and, consequently, in 1798 his

re-election was strongly opposed. In the following year, however, he was chosen by a very large majority. To the grief of his friends, he died before taking the oath of office; and Moses Gill, the lieutenant governor filled the chair during the rest of the year.

Caleb Strong, the successor of Mr. Gill, was governor of Massachusetts from May 1800 to May 1807. He was elected by the federalistic party, and his competitor was Mr. Gerry. Meantime the fourth presidential canvass was approaching. The opposition to Mr. Adams was exceedingly violent; his conduct was condemned as "a heterogeneous compound of right and wrong, of wisdom and error;" and the result of the canvass was the election of Thomas Jefferson by a vote of the House. Massachusetts voted for Mr. Adams; nevertheless, the governor in his annual address, "expressed himself in a conciliatory manner toward the new administration, although the result had not corresponded with the wishes of many citizens of the commonwealth." "They will reflect," he observed, "that in republics, the opinion of the majority must prevail, and that obedience to the laws and respect for the constitutional authorities are essential to the character of a good citizen."¹

At the next presidential election, Mr. Jefferson was re-chosen, the vote of Massachusetts being given in his favor. Three years later, in 1807, James Sullivan succeeded Mr. Strong as governor of the commonwealth. Under the influence of the president, party contentions were becoming excessively bitter. There was not only the common struggle for power, from which even absolute despotisms are not exempt, and which is inseparable from all elective governments, but the politics and contentions in Europe were being

¹ Bradford, iii. 82.

artfully intermingled with all the elections which occurred in the United States. The daily press not only discussed qualifications for office, but descended to personalities and calumnies, which might induce one to suppose that the Americans had been astute in selecting the worst men of their nation for public trust.

Not long after his second inauguration, both the president and his cabinet were accused of a leaning toward France, and of a wish to provoke Great Britain. In the mean time England and France vied with each other in issuing and enforcing decrees, and both committed frequent spoliation upon American commerce. As a scheme of retaliation, and to bring the belligerents to terms, Congress, on the recommendation of the president, laid an embargo prohibiting American commerce with France and England. This embargo was laid on the 22d of December, 1807, and was without period or limitation. It was this feature of the bill which alarmed the people of Massachusetts, and induced many of them to condemn the president as a "traitor." Everywhere in the United States the embargo itself was exceedingly unpopular; and the intelligent portion of the people failed to see what benefit could be derived from their ships rotting in the ports, their seamen out of employment, the industry of the country prostrated, and the millions of surplus property now worthless for want of a market. Notwithstanding this outburst of popular indignation, the partisans of the president increased even in New England; but when, some months later, the pressure of the embargo began to be felt, the people again complained bitterly of the impolicy. In Congress violent debates were held from day to day upon the exciting topic, and people of all ranks now saw that the embargo was a futile measure; and that instead of bringing

the French and English to terms, it was the subject of their ridicule, while it was becoming more and more ruinous to the nation.

In the mean while the sixth presidential election had taken place, and Mr. Madison had been chosen to fill the executive chair. Three days before the close of Jefferson's administration, on the 27th of February, 1809, the arbitrary act, which had been forced upon the country without a moment's warning, and which had brought ruin upon thousands, was repealed. By the death of Mr. Sullivan in the preceding December, Levi Lincoln, the lieutenant governor, became the chief magistrate of Massachusetts. At this time the executive Council was composed entirely of federalists, and there were federal majorities in both branches of the legislature. In his speech to the legislature, at the January session, Lieutenant Governor Lincoln noticed the event which had made it his duty to address that assembly; and in its reply, the House spoke in high terms of the deceased chief magistrate, saying that he, "in the discharge of his high and important trust, appeared rather desirous to be the governor of Massachusetts than the leader of a party, or the vindictive champion of its cause." Mr. Lincoln was a devoted partisan of Jefferson, and as such, sought to introduce a more stringent system of policy. He condemned every public remonstrance against the embargo as seditious and uncalled for, and took an extraordinary course to suppress them. But, as has already been noticed, the effect of the embargo, and the tyrannical measures adopted to enforce it, the poverty and distress which were daily increasing, compelled the citizens to investigate causes, and to think for themselves.

In April, 1809, Christopher Gore was the federal candidate for the office of governor, and was elected. The embargo

having been removed, and the busy citizens of Massachusetts having engaged in their accustomed vocations; and thinking more of these, than of political dangers and duties, an opportunity was again afforded for the "friends of the people" to take a majority into their custody. By the democratic party, — once more the triumphant party in the state, — Elbridge Gerry was nominated and elected governor of Massachusetts. He held his office from May, 1810, to May, 1812; and the result of his election was deemed an indorsement of the policy of Madison.

CHAPTER XX.

THE WAR OF 1812.

At the time when Elbridge Gerry became chief magistrate of Massachusetts, intelligent statesmen were demurring at the policy of the general government, and were confidently predicting a war with England. The people, of course, deprecated such an event, and these same statesmen believed that, under the guidance of a prudent and magnanimous spirit, the difficulties existing between the two governments might be amicably adjusted.

Governor Gerry was a democrat, and in both branches of the General Court the majorities were democratic; furthermore, both the executive and the legislature were harmonious in purpose. Mr. Gerry's first act was, in pursuance of the Jeffersonian system, to remove from office many who had long and faithfully served the commonwealth. The cause of such removals was simply that these incumbents were not of the dominant party. The County Courts were organized anew; the appointment of clerks of the judicial courts was vested in the governor, instead of in the judges; and minor offices were filled by the governor's political friends. In January, 1812, Mr. Gerry openly accused the federal party "of being anti-republican in its principles, and opposed to the measures of the general government." "Are we not called upon," said he, "to decide whether we will commit the liberty and independence of ourselves and pos-

terity to the fidelity and protection of a national administration, — at the head of which is a Madison, supported by an executive department, a Senate, and a House of Representatives abounding with revolutionary and other meritorious patriots, — or to a British administration, the disciples of Bute, who was the author of a plan to enslave these states, and to American royalists who co-operated with that government to bind us in chains while colonists? Is it not morally and politically impossible that a doubt can exist in regard to the choice? ”¹

In the following month the governor sent a still more extraordinary message to the legislature, commenting on the severe remarks of the public press with reference to his own conduct and the policy of the national government. After the reading of the message, a member of the senate arose, and offered a resolution, “ that the governor, in denouncing various publications in the Boston newspapers as libels, especially after a grand jury, upon an examination of some of those publications, had refused to find bills of indictment, manifests an alarming disposition to usurp the power belonging to the judicial department, tending to criminate and injure the reputation of individuals, without affording them an opportunity of defence; and that the employing of the law officers of the commonwealth in examining files of newspapers for the purpose of collecting and divesting such publications, with a view of presenting them to the legislature instead of to a grand jury, is a departure from his constitutional province, and an infringement upon private rights.”²

In the midst of the excitement, a new gubernatorial election took place, which resulted in the choice of Caleb Strong

¹ *Message of Jan. 8, 1812.*

² *Boston Centinel for 1812.*

by a very small majority. It has been said that "it is possible that the conduct of Mr. Gerry, in districting the state for the election of senators, had some influence on the popular vote; and it was alleged that the division thus made, which the federalists christened with the name of 'Gerrymandering,' was 'new and arbitrary,' and was 'designed to secure the triumph of the republican party.'"¹ So far as the Senate was concerned, it had this effect; but a majority of the House was of the federal party.

When, after the revolutionary strife, John Adams arrived in England as the minister plenipotentiary of the United States, he was graciously received, and affected almost to tears, by the honest words of King George: "I was the last man in the kingdom, sir, to consent to the independence of America; but now it is granted, I shall be the last man in the world to sanction a violation of it." Mr. Jefferson had faithfully cherished all the causes of controversy with Great Britain, and by refusing to enter into a compromise, had made the breach wider. These causes of controversy were, briefly, the colonial trade; the blockades by England; the affair of the Chesapeake; the impressment of seamen from American merchant vessels, and the Orders of the King in Council. In March, 1809, when Mr. Madison became president, and in June, 1812, when war was declared, England sincerely desired to avoid a conflict; but the administration was disposed otherwise; and even Lloyd, who had taken the place of John Quincy Adams in the United States Senate, declared, as the voice of Massachusetts, in favor of rigorous measures.²

¹ Barry, iii. 369.

² See Lloyd's Speech in *Annals of Congress*, 12 Cong., 1st series, 1. 131-147.

In March, 1812, Mr. Madison sent a message to Congress, in which he wrote, "I lay before Congress copies of certain documents which remain in the department of state. They prove, that at a recent period, whilst the United States, notwithstanding the wrongs sustained by them, ceased not to observe the laws of peace and neutrality toward Great Britain, and in the midst of amicable professions and negotiations on the part of the British government, through its public minister here, a secret agent of that government was employed, in certain states, *more especially at the seat of government in Massachusetts*, in fomenting disaffection to the constituted authorities of the nation; and in intrigues with the disaffected, for the purpose of bringing about resistance to the laws, and eventually, in concert with a British force, of destroying the Union, and forming the eastern part thereof into a political connection with Great Britain." In the following month, at the president's suggestion, an embargo for sixty days, prohibiting "the sailing of any vessel for any foreign port, except foreign vessels with such cargoes as they had on board when notified of the act," was passed by Congress. Josiah Quincy strenuously opposed the act, on the ground that he did not believe "the proposed embargo was a preparation for war, but a refuge from the question of declaring war."¹ Other acts which followed were more decisive, and showed plainly that the administration was in earnest. On the 18th of June, Congress declared war against Great Britain, and thus, unhappily, closed the door to reconciliation. The friends of peace resisted the declaration of war in Congress with reason, good sense, faithful love of country, and serious eloquence; but such weapons were powerless against the infatuation of party.

¹ Niles's Register, ii. 107-121. Hildreth, U. S., vi. 298.

In Boston, which had "long been the seat of discontent, complaint, and turbulence," the opposition was general. "Whatever difficulty or distress arose from the extraordinary circumstances of the times, — and great difficulty and distress were inevitable, — was aggravated and magnified to the highest degree for the purpose of inflaming the public passions. From the moment when the war was declared, they clamored for peace, and reprobated the war as wicked, unjust, and unnecessary. They made every possible effort to raise obstructions and difficulties in the prosecution of the war, and yet reprobated the administration for their imbecility in carrying it on. They reduced the government to bankruptcy, and reproached it for its necessities and embarrassments. In a word, all their movements had but one object — to enfeeble and distract the government."¹

The governor communicated the intelligence of the declaration of war to the General Court on the 23d of June. Three days later the House declared against the event, and expressed their opinion of its inexpediency; but the Senate, taking an entirely opposite view, declared the policy both just and necessary. Three fourths of the people sanctioned the opinion of the House. Shortly afterwards, the Senate published an address approving of the war, which, by the enemies of England, was applauded as a document of great power. "The Senate" — such are the words of the address — "affect not to disguise from their constituents that the times are times of peril. The enemies of republics are on the alert. The present is deemed the favorable time for the dismemberment of the Union — that favorite project of the British government, which has been attempted by their authorized agent, and we have alarming proofs, is

¹ Carey's Olive Branch, 253.

countenanced and cherished by citizens of this government. Yes, we say with assurance, that a deep and deadly design is formed against our happy Union. We say it from conviction, forced on our minds, from declarations from responsible sources, from intrigues that have existed between the enemies of republics and an authorized British spy, and from a settled determination to oppose the government in the prosecution of the war now forced upon us.”¹

The address of the House was of a different tone. “It must be evident to you that a president who has made this war is not qualified to make peace; and that the men who have concurred in this act of desperation are pledged to persevere in this course, regardless of all consequences. Display, then, the majesty of the people in the exercise of your rights, and, sacrificing all party feelings at the altar of your country’s good, resolve to displace those who have abused their power and betrayed their trust. Organize a *peace party* throughout your country, and let all other party distinctions vanish. Keep a steadfast eye upon the presidential election, and remember that if he whose fatal policy has plunged you into this unexampled calamity is again raised to the chair, and if the abettors of war are to be intrusted with conducting it, you will have nothing to expect, for years to come, but ‘the sword of the warrior, and garments rolled in blood;’ and that if you should, by your aid, accelerate the fall of Great Britain, you would merely deliver over your exhausted country and enslaved posterity to the dominion of a tyrant, whose want of power alone restrains him from the exercise of unlimited despotism on the ocean, and the same tyranny in the New World

¹ Address of the Senate, 27.

which he has imposed upon the Old." ¹ The address of the federal members of Congress was equally temperate.

Of the military and naval character of the war, it is not the duty of the present historian to write. All this went on like other wars, with the exception that it soon became defensive on the part of the United States. The requisition upon Massachusetts for a detachment of militia led to a correspondence between Governor Strong and General Dearborn, the commander of the national troops then stationed in the state. The cause of the correspondence was the refusal of the governor to call out the militia. General Dearborn renewed his demand, and shortly afterwards the secretary of war wrote a letter to the governor, urging him to comply. The chief magistrate, in a message to the legislature, defended his course, on the ground that he "presumed, if this state was in danger, the regular troops would not have been ordered to the north-west frontiers; and if they were so ordered, the militia were not liable to be called into service, and stationed in the forts of the United States to do garrison duty, when no danger of invasion appeared. I have been fully disposed to comply with the requirements of the constitution of the United States, and the laws made in pursuance thereof, and sincerely regret that a request should have been made by an officer of the national government, with which I could not constitutionally comply. But it appeared to me that this requisition was of that character; and I was under the same obligation to maintain the rights of the state as to support the constitution of the United States." ²

A few days after the declaration of war, the president,

¹ Address of the House, Niles's Reg., ii. 417.

² Mass. Resolves, for 1812. Bradford, iii. 139-152.

through Secretary of State Monroe, made proposals for an armistice, preliminary to a definitive settlement of all differences. But this action amounted to nothing. In the existing state of affairs, bereft as was the administration of the confidence of the country, and absolutely bankrupt in resources, a measure was devised to command men for naval and land service. Mr. Madison directed his secretary of state to propose to Congress a system of impressment, more odious than was ever known in England, and a conscription more shocking than had ever been experienced in France. Congress assembled on the 19th of September, 1814, and on the 17th of the following month Mr. Monroe presented his conscription plan. Eighty thousand men were, by a law proposed by Mr. Giles of Virginia, to be submitted to the conscription, probably as the first call. The law passed the House; the term of service was limited to one year, and it provided that the president might call directly on the militia officers for the men, in case the governors of states refused, on request of the president, to detach and surrender the required number. It is highly probable that, if it had been attempted to enforce the system of impressment and military conscription by law, the government would have come to an end. The citizens of the United States could not, and would not, have submitted themselves to its operation.

Though it had signally failed in this scheme, the administration was still resolved to continue the war. In the summer of 1814, the enemy had taken possession of so much of the State of Maine as extends from the British Provinces to the Penobscot, and held absolute command in all the neighboring waters. It was apprehended that attacks would be made upon the seaport towns, and the whole

of New England was in terror. Governor Strong called the legislature together, and laid before them the state of the country. The general sentiment was that the New England States ought to combine, utterly abandoned as they were by the national government, to save themselves by their own force and resources from becoming a conquered country. The legislature was resolved that a common cause should be made among all the New England maritime states, and that, to effect this object, delegates should be invited to assemble at Hartford on the 15th of December following, and that reports should be made to the legislatures of their respective states.¹

At the appointed time, the convention met at Hartford, and comprised twenty-six federal delegates, of whom twelve were from Massachusetts, seven from Connecticut, four from Rhode Island, two from New Hampshire, and one from Vermont. The convention was in session from the 15th of December, 1814, to the 5th of January following, and all of its proceedings were conducted with closed doors. In accordance with the sentiments expressed in the call for the convention, the members were enjoined not to propose measures "repugnant to their obligations as members of the Union;" and after deliberating for twenty days, the convention published an address to the people. After recapitulating the evils which the war had brought upon the people, this address expresses the sentiments of the members upon other wrongs; such as the enlistment of minors and apprentices, the national government assuming to command the state militia, and especially the proposed system of conscription for both army and navy. Strange propositions for a government professedly waging war to

¹ *Resolves of the Gen. Court, for Oct 1814. Bradford, iii. 211-212.*

protect its seamen from impressment! "The conscription of the father, with the seduction of the son, renders complete the power of the national executive over the male population of the country, thus destroying the most important relations of society." "A free constitution, administered by great and incomparable statesmen, realized the fondest hopes of liberty and independence, under Washington and his measures. The arts flourished, the comforts of life were universally diffused, nothing remained but to reap the advantages and cherish the resources flowing from this policy." "Our object is to strengthen and perpetuate the union of these states, by removing the causes of jealousies."

In furtherance of such views, the address proposed amendments to the constitution, — among others, to equalize the representation in the lower House of Congress, by basing it on free population; against embargoes and non-intercourse laws; and to make the president ineligible for a second term. These amendments were never adopted by the states.

The Hartford convention was for many years a rich and inexhaustible fund of abuse and crimination, notwithstanding that its twenty-six members were as wise, as loyal, and as patriotic as the average of the legislators and politicians of that day or since. Those persons who knew the least of the causes which led to the convention, and nothing of the motives of those who were its members, were the most busy and the most malignant calumniators. By these persons the secrecy of the convention was construed to mean most treasonable designs; but to the opponents of the administration, who knew the men there assembled, and knew also that they could listen to no counsels, nor propose nor adopt any measure inconsistent with duty, self-respect, and

sober wisdom, the secrecy was in no wise alarming, but on the contrary, satisfying and consolatory.

After receiving and adopting the report of the convention, the legislature of Massachusetts sent Harrison Gray Otis, Thomas H. Perkins, and William Sullivan as commissioners to Washington, to request the consent of the general Congress to the measures recommended by the convention. The commissioners arrived in Washington about the middle of February, 1815, "one day after the news of peace had reached that city."¹

Universal and unalloyed joy followed the tidings that a peace had been negotiated with Great Britain. In Boston, especially, the news "gave great joy to every patriot." A procession was formed, a banquet was given in Faneuil Hall, and in the evening the town was illuminated. The victory at New Orleans, on the 8th of the month preceding, was the crowning event of the war, and was everywhere applauded.

The conflict being ended, the citizens of the United States returned to their peaceful avocations. In Massachusetts, every effort was made to increase the industrial resources of the state. Before the year closed, thirty-four new manufacturing companies were incorporated for the manufacture of woollen and cotton cloths, and several large mills were erected. "As a consequence of these changes, and of the development of the mechanical and agricultural resources of the state, railroads radiate in every direction; the commerce of the state encircles the globe; towns have become cities, and villages towns; our people are eminently an industrial people; with the increase of wealth and of the comforts of life, the arts and the sciences have been successfully cultivated; the press, the great engine of civ-

¹ Otis's Letters, 38.

ilization, is actively at work for the enlightenment of the public; our manners and customs have been ameliorated and improved; the interests of religion and morality are fostered; and the progress of society, and its intellectual advancement, have kept pace with its secondary and temporal advancement.”¹

The administration of Governor Strong closed in 1816. His successor was John Brooks, a revolutionary patriot, who had been a member of the convention for adopting the federal constitution, a representative and senator in the state legislature, and a member of the Council under Governor Strong. Without high pretensions to intellectual distinction, he was a man of practical wisdom, sound judgment, and of a pure and elevated mind. It may be said, also, that no man was more than he esteemed and respected. He was a federalist, but no one was more attached to republican principles, and no one more readily subscribed to the doctrine that civil and political power emanate from the people. Remarkably conciliating and popular, he secured the confidence of both parties, and was for seven years successively chosen chief magistrate of the state.

The two principal events of his long administration were the erection of the District of Maine into a separate state, and the revision of the state constitution. Petitions for the separation of the District of Maine were first preferred to the legislature of Massachusetts in 1816, and a convention was appointed to be holden at Brunswick. This convention voted in favor of the step, but the separation was not effected until 1820, at which time Maine was erected into a distinct and independent commonwealth, and was admitted into the American Union.

¹ Barry, iii. 421.

In accordance with the votes of the people, a convention of nearly five hundred men assembled in Boston in November, 1820, for the purpose of revising the constitution of the state. The venerable John Adams, then in his eighty-fifth year, was called to preside ; but, owing to the infirmities of age, Chief Justice Isaac Parker was chosen in his place. The sessions of the convention continued for about seven weeks, during which time amendments, embodied in fourteen articles, were proposed, and afterwards submitted to the people. Only nine of these amendments were ultimately approved. These were as follows: " That the governor should have five days, while the General Court was in session, to consider and object to any bill presented to him for signature ; that the legislature should have power to constitute municipal or city governments in any town containing at least twelve thousand inhabitants, reserving the power to annul any by-laws made by such governments ; that all male persons of the age of twenty-one years, who had resided in the state for one year, and for six months within the town in which they claimed a right to vote, and who had paid a tax assessed upon them within two years, should have and enjoy the right of suffrage ; that, in the election of military officers, those under twenty-one years of age, who were regular members of a company, should have a right to vote ; that notaries public should be appointed by the governor, with the consent of the Council, in the same manner and for the same time as justices of the peace, which was for the term of seven years ; that no county attorney, clerk of a court, sheriff, register of probate, or register of deeds, should, at the same time, be a member of the Congress of the United States, and that no judge of the Court of Common Pleas should hold

any other office under the commonwealth except that of justice of the peace, or an office in the militia; and that future amendments should receive the consent of the majority of the Senate and two thirds of the House, be published and approved by the like numbers in the next General Court, then submitted to the people, and, if approved by a majority of their votes, become a part of the constitution. In addition to these propositions, that part of the constitution which required all the legislators, magistrates, and civil officers to declare their belief in the Christian religion was annulled, and the oath of allegiance was likewise abridged.”¹

This event — which, it ought to be said, in no wise materially affected the integrity of the instrument which the wisdom of the fathers had framed — marks the two hundredth year of the history of Massachusetts. Whether the period be viewed as a whole, or in part, it may safely be affirmed that the history of no other state in the American Union is more striking, or more suggestive of great and important lessons.

¹ Barry, iii. 424.

CHAPTER XXI.

THE ERA OF POLITICS.

AFTER the close of the war of 1812 the Anti-Federalist, or Democratic party, as it was afterwards called, gradually gained strength. As has previously been seen, the course of the dominant, or Federalist party, during the contest with England, had given occasion for a considerable defection from its support, especially among the young men of the country. When, however, the original grounds of disaffection and dispute were removed, the feeling thereby engendered died away, and the second term of Mr. Monroe's administration was everywhere spoken of as "the era of good feeling."

During the winter of 1820 the public mind was greatly agitated by the discussion of the question whether or not Missouri should be admitted into the Union with a constitution making slavery one of its features. While some affirmed that slavery is inhuman, that the relation between master and slave is demoralizing to both, and that the founders of the Republic had opposed slavery, as a cruel institution, others declared that if the founders of the republic were opposed to slavery in theory, they failed to practise this theory; that the constitution recognized and defended slavery; and that the labor in the south could not be performed without the help of slaves. With regard to the question, both federalists and democrats were of one mind in the

north. Mass meetings were held all over New England, and Boston was especially foremost in speaking her sense of what the crisis demanded. After a long dispute the question was settled by a compromise. Congress agreed that Missouri should come into the Union as a slave state; but that slavery should be elsewhere forbidden in new states north of 36° 30' north latitude,—this being the southern border line of Missouri. Such was the famous “Missouri Compromise,” which, like compromises of principle generally, only postponed the day of evil.

Whilst the good feeling prevailed in respect to the national elections, party lines in Massachusetts still remained distinctly drawn. Governor Brooks labored assiduously to discharge the duties of his office, and all of his addresses to the legislature evinced large and liberal views of the policy of the state, united with a spirit of moderation and impartiality. It was impossible to bring less of the partisan to the performance of official duty. Governor Brooks remained in office until 1823, and the entire period of his administration was marked by a high degree of public progress and prosperity. The census of 1820 showed a population in Massachusetts of six hundred and twenty-two thousand two hundred and eighty-seven souls, residing in fifty-seven towns. The population of Boston at this time was upward of forty-three thousand. In the autumn of 1822, the “Massachusetts Society to aid in the Suppression of the Slave Trade,” was organized, and provided with a constitution. The object of the association was to help on the work of the American Colonization Society, of which, indeed, it was a branch.

The growth of population in the state demanded some change in the old almshouse system which had come down from colonial times. After the opening of the General



General Webster

Court, in June, 1820, Mr. Josiah Quincy moved for an inquiry into the subject of pauperism, and was made chairman of a committee appointed for the purpose. In the following January the committee submitted a report which condensed the experience of England and Massachusetts as to the various methods of dealing with the subject. This report was widely circulated, and thus gave rise to the improved system of treating the dependent poor. A little later, measures were instituted for the erection of a House of Industry for the town of Boston; and in March, 1822, Boston ceased to be a town, and became a civic corporation, — Mr. John Phillips being chosen as the first mayor.

At this period Daniel Webster, born on the 18th of January, 1782, at Salisbury, N. H., was a member of the Boston bar. He had been hitherto known as a leading member of Congress, and as a very eminent lawyer. At the age of thirty-eight he had achieved a reputation second to that of no other man in America, and was naturally regarded as one of the great leaders of his party. In the autumn of 1822 he was urged by delegates from all the wards to become the representative of Boston in Congress. His circumstances were not independent; and having once served with distinction in the House of Representatives, and voluntarily retired from it, he did not wish to return to that body. Nevertheless he was unwilling to reject the honor which was proposed, and therefore accepted the nomination, and was elected by a very large majority of votes. He returned to Congress in December, 1823. The federal party, to which he had previously belonged, was no longer an existing organization; neither could there be said to be any well-defined republican party remaining. Not yet, however, had the old names ceased to be used.

Governor Brooks was succeeded, in 1823, by William Eustis, who had previously served as Secretary of War of the United States, as Minister to Holland, besides having been a prominent member of Congress. Governor Eustis was chosen as chief magistrate by the republican party, and every branch of the state government was likewise republican. His administration was marked by but few events of importance, and his whole course was one of peace and prosperity. At the presidential election in 1824, Levi Lincoln, the lieutenant governor, was one of the electors on the part of Massachusetts, and cast a vote for John Quincy Adams. Mr. Webster, who in the same autumn was again elected to Congress, had no strong personal preferences for Mr. Adams, and was not likely to favor his election. Mr. Adams, however, received the electoral votes of all the New England states, and Mr. Webster felt bound to give effect to this expression of the popular voice in this region. At the first ballot, in February, Mr. Adams was elected, and on the 4th of March, 1825, he took his seat.

In 1824, Mr. Lathrop was nominated as a candidate for governor, against Governor Eustis, receiving thirty-four thousand votes to thirty eight thousand for the latter. Governor Eustis died in February, 1825. Mr. Lathrop declined to be a candidate again, and Mr. Lincoln declined being a candidate upon a democratic nomination. Whereupon the Federal Convention voted that it was inexpedient to make a party nomination, and upon a ballot for a candidate for the office of governor unanimously proposed Mr. Lincoln. At the election, the latter received thirty-five thousand out of thirty-seven thousand votes, and entered upon the office on the last Wednesday in May, 1825.

Mr. Lincoln proved himself a magistrate admirably suited

to meet the wants of the commonwealth. While fully understanding these wants, he exerted his utmost energies to take care of, and advance the social, political, and economical interests of the state. In his inaugural message he alludes to several of these interests. At this period the construction of a canal from Boston to the Connecticut River was a favorite scheme for internal communication. He refers to this, "with favor, and suggests that he has been assured that another mode, by railways, had been approved of in England. But 'how far they would be affected by our severe frosts cannot be conjectured yet,' and whether they are better than canals remained to be determined. He speaks with approbation of the encouragement recently given to agriculture by the incorporation of societies, and calls upon the legislature to relieve the manufacturing interests by a change of the law which held stockholders in corporations liable personally for the debts of their company to an unlimited extent. He accompanies these statements with the suggestive fact, that commerce was falling off, and reminds the legislature of the necessity of prompt measures in favor of a revival of the trade and business of the state."¹

Several railroads were incorporated during the administration of Governor Lincoln, one of them being from Boston to the "City of Lowell," in 1829; though the name of that city had as yet no place upon the map of Massachusetts. But facilities for trade and intercourse were not the only objects of the care and encouragement of Governor Lincoln. Home industry received a large share of his attention. The cause of American industry, especially, received his countenance, and to-day the entire commonwealth is reaping the fruits of his protecting policy. During his administration

¹ Washburn, Memoir, 16.

a decided change for the better was introduced into the prevailing system of prison discipline. For many years, to be sure, the barbarous custom of "whipping, cropping, and shutting up in dungeons and jails, in idleness, those who had been convicted of crimes," had been discontinued, a state prison had been erected at Charlestown, and a certain amount of labor was required of its inmates. Governor Lincoln, during one of his visits to the state prison, found the inmates "lodged in large rooms, containing, in some cases, sixteen persons, where they were shut up together, thus subjecting the yet unhardened convict to the certain process of hopeless corruption and remediless ruin. They were literally festering in each other's defilement, under the pretence of correction and reform." "Better," says the governor, in his annual message in 1826, "even that the laws should be written in blood, than thus be executed in sin." He recommended the plan adopted at the Auburn penitentiary, and thus gave impulse to an early reform.

It was during this administration that the condition of the insane in the commonwealth was looked into. In 1827 the idea of curing these unfortunates by medical care and treatment was first entertained by the legislature, and two years later an act was passed for the establishment of a State Lunatic Hospital. In 1832 the building was completed, and the governor issued his proclamation, opening it for public use. Popular education was another subject which claimed the governor's attention. In his message of the 7th of January, 1826, he alluded to the necessity of an institution to qualify teachers, and commended his suggestion to "the fostering patronage of the legislature." He revived the importance of the subject in the following year; and in February, 1828, the committee of the legislature on edu-

cation reported a bill providing for the establishment of a fund, to be among other things, "appropriated to the endowment of an institution for the instruction of school teachers in each county of the commonwealth." For some reason or other this measure was not put into execution, although it was never lost sight of until it resulted in a normal school, the privileges of which are now enjoyed by the whole commonwealth.

On the 17th of June, 1825, — the fiftieth anniversary of the battle, — was laid the corner-stone of the Bunker Hill Monument. The day was very propitious; and the occasion and the presence of General Lafayette — who was at this time on a visit to the United States — brought together immense crowds of people from all parts of the country. A long procession marched from the State House, in Boston, to Bunker Hill, where more than twenty thousand people were assembled. Daniel Webster was the orator of the occasion, and as he spoke, his voice was very clear and full, and his manner very commanding. Under the great awning on the neighboring hill the dinner was served, and in the evening there was a grand reception at Mr. Webster's house.¹

On the 4th of July, 1826, the jubilee of American Independence was celebrated throughout the United States. In Boston, Josiah Quincy delivered the oration in the presence of the city authorities. He thus spoke of Mr. John Adams: "Especially shall he not be forgotten, now or ever, — that ancient citizen of Boston, that patriarch of American independence, of all New England's worthies on this day the sole survivor. He, indeed, oppressed by years, sinking under the burdens of decaying nature, hears not our public song, or voice of praise, or ascending prayer. But the sounds of

¹ Ticknor's Reminiscences.

a nation's joy, rushing from our cities, ringing from our valleys, echoing from our hills, shall break the silence of his aged ear ; the rising blessings of grateful millions shall visit with a glad light his fading vision, and flush the last shades of his evening sky with the reflected splendors of his meridian brightness."

Whilst these words were being spoken the venerable ex-President of the United States was still alive ; but before the rejoicings of the day were over, the news came that he was lying dead at Quincy. On the same day died also Thomas Jefferson at Monticello. This unparalleled coincidence filled the land with a solemn amazement. Commemorative services were everywhere held ; but none were more striking than the services held in Faneuil Hall, on the 2d of August, when Mr. Webster, in the presence of John Quincy Adams, President of the United States, and of an audience in numbers and character worthy of the extraordinary occasion, pronounced his famous eulogy in commemoration of Adams and Jefferson.

In the autumn of this year Mr. Webster was re-elected to Congress for the third time, as the representative of the Boston district. He was nominated and voted for by the "Republican" party, — a party, which comprehended that portion of the old democratic party which supported in general the administration of Mr. Adams, and which was not merged in the organization then forming for the elevation of General Jackson to the presidency. In June of the following year, without any regular nomination from any quarter, he was elected by the legislature to the senate of the United States by a large majority.

A new presidential election occurred in 1828. By a coalition which was effected between the leading influences

of the slave states, and those of New York and Pennsylvania, Andrew Jackson and John C. Calhoun, both slaveholders, were respectively chosen president and vice president of the United States. It was plainly noticeable that persons holding opposite opinions on the constitutional powers of the government, and on the leading measures of Mr. Adams's administration, had united to overthrow it. "It is my opinion," said Webster, in a speech at Faneuil Hall,¹ "that the present government of the United States cannot be maintained but by administering it on principles as wide and broad as the country over which it extends. I mean, of course, no extension of the powers which it confers; but I speak of the spirit with which those powers should be exercised. If there be any doubts whether so many republics, covering so vast a territory, can be long held together under this constitution, there is no doubt, in my judgment, of the impossibility of so holding them together by any narrow, local, or selfish system of legislation. To render the constitution perpetual (which God grant it may be), it is necessary that its benefits should be practically felt by all parts of the country. The east and the west, the north and the south, must all see their welfare protected and advanced by it. While the eastern frontier is defended by fortifications, its harbors improved, and commerce protected by a naval force, it is right and just that the region beyond the Alleghanies should receive fair consideration and equal attention in any object of public improvement interesting to itself, and within the proper power of the government."

Early in the spring of 1833 the whole country was thrown into dismay by the attitude of South Carolina. In the preceeding year, this state had published an ordinance resisting

¹ On the 5th of June.

the collection of duties imposed by the tariff, and denied the authority of the general government to enforce what she deemed an unconstitutional law. Undaunted by the president's proclamation of warning, South Carolina resolved to maintain her rights as a sovereign state, by organizing troops, and providing munitions of war; and intimated that if an attempt was made by the general government to enforce the collection of such duties, she would exercise her right to secede from the Union, and "forthwith proceed to organize a separate government." The president remained firm, and acted with decision; the state receded from her defiant position, and the storm calmed down. On the 4th of March, General Jackson entered upon his second term of office, with Martin Van Buren, of New York, as vice president.

Meanwhile a new party had sprung into existence in Massachusetts and elsewhere. It was known as the "National Republican," and comprehended all those who were opposed to the re-election of General Jackson. In December, 1831, the party held a convention at Baltimore, and nominated Henry Clay for the presidency. Mr. Clay proved, however, to be an unsuccessful candidate. Nevertheless, the party which had supported Mr. Clay for the presidency in the election of 1832, naturally remained in opposition to his successful rival. But the name of the party, never well suited to the circumstances of the times, was now changed. In these circumstances it was felt that in the existing struggle between the parties actually arrayed against each other, and in the principles and doctrines of those who were in power, there was a fitness in the revival of a term which on both sides of the Atlantic had been historically associated with the side of liberty against the side of power. Thus the

National Republicans suddenly assumed the name of Whigs, with a purpose in view to uphold the proper functions of the legislature against executive encroachments.

In the spring of 1834 Governor Lincoln voluntarily withdrew from his high official station, with the universal respect and grateful esteem of his fellow-citizens. Having brought to his office talents and qualities of a high and varied character, sound judgment, broad and liberal views, a familiarity with details, a skill in the adaptation of means to ends, a knowledge of men, and an unselfish desire to advance the best interests of the commonwealth, Governor Lincoln was crowned with a distinguished success throughout his entire administration. In March, 1834, the Hon. John Davis succeeded to the gubernatorial chair.

Governor Davis, when elected to this position, had never before been connected, in an official manner, with the government of the state. His public life had wholly been confined to the national Congress; and the reputation which he had acquired there was the basis of his popularity at home. Succeeding, as he did, one of the most popular chief magistrates of Massachusetts, the post was a difficult one to fill without suffering by comparison. He filled it, however, without a diminution in the amount of public regard which his predecessor had won. At the time of his election no choice was made by the people, but he was elevated to his station by a large majority of votes in the legislature. From first to last his executive administration was characterized by a careful and conscientious attention to every department of duty, by a strict regard to the constitutional limitation upon his authority, by a zealous guardianship of the rights of the state in her relations with the general government and her sister states, and by a watchful concern

in all her industrial interests, in her educational system, and her charitable institutions.¹

During the administration of Governor Davis occurred one of the most dastardly outrages that has ever polluted the history of the state. On the night of the 11th of August, 1834, a mob, variously estimated at from four to ten thousand persons, assembled around the convent of St. Ursula, which stood on Mount Benedict, overlooking the Mystic, and set fire to both the convent proper and the surrounding out-buildings. The efforts of the firemen proved unavailing, and the flames raged until everything combustible was consumed. For some time previous the rumor had prevailed that Mary St. John Harrison, an inmate of the convent, had either been abducted or secreted where she could not be found by her friends. This rumor occasioned the most intense excitement; and in Charlestown placards were posted, announcing that on such a night the convent would be burned. Even this failed to arouse the authorities.

When the mob assembled, the superior of the convent, together with the inmates, were ordered to depart from the building. There were a dozen nuns, and more than fifty scholars, some of them Protestants, and many of them of a tender age. With great difficulty they made good their escape. Such was the fury of the mob, that not even the tomb belonging to the convent was respected, but was broken into, and insult offered to the ashes of the dead.

Following this outrage the indignation of the better portion of the community was aroused. A large meeting of the citizens of Boston was held in Faneuil Hall, at which the voices of Harrison Gray Otis, and of Josiah Quincy,

¹ *Trans. of Am. Antiq. Soc.*, iii. 355.

Jr., were heard. Reprisals from the Catholics were looked for ; but, quite unexpectedly, they showed remarkable forbearance. The judicious conduct of Bishop Fenwick allayed the exasperation of his flock ; and even Father Taylor, the venerable pastor of the seamen, “ was listened to with respectful attention by a large assemblage of Irish Catholics, who had gathered in the immediate neighborhood of their church in Franklin Street, Boston, on the same occasion.” Many arrests were made, and several of the rioters were convicted and punished. Neither on the part of Chief Justice Shaw, nor of the governor, was any effort spared to bring the offenders to justice, and to vindicate the good name of the commonwealth.

In Massachusetts the party which supported the administration of General Jackson, and which now became known as the Democratic Party, had never been very strong. As the time for a new presidential election approached, the whigs, who constituted the opposition, began to look about them for a suitable candidate. In point of numbers and in weight of character the whigs were the strongest in the state legislature ; the democrats were in a feeble minority ; and the third party of Anti-Masonry, were likewise of inferior importance. In February, 1835, the whigs nominated Mr. Webster for the presidency. Elsewhere men of entire honesty of purpose, and of great respectability, ardently desired to make Mr. Webster president of the United States. But they could not content themselves with the sufficiency of his character as a statesman, and thought it necessary to press him on the point of masonry.

Mr. Webster well knew that without a co-operation of the whig and the anti-masonic elements he could never be elected to the station, which he much desired to attain. His

whig friends regarded all the excitement on the subject of masonry as eminently unnecessary; while on the other hand, his anti-masonic friends, whose private communications revealed to him the desire to have him made the candidate of their party, did not perceive that they exacted from him a pledge which it would have been unbecoming in him to give. Mr. Webster — and his answer furnishes the means of determining not only his character but also his rank as a statesman and a patriot — did not hesitate to say to the latter, that he regarded “secret societies, the members of which take upon themselves extraordinary obligations, and are bound together by secret oaths, as objectionable; and he commended highly the sentiment which the anti-masons had adopted, of the supremacy of the laws.”¹ But he refused to define the duty of a chief magistrate in making appointments to office; or, in other words, to say to his correspondents that, if elected, he would appoint none but anti-masons to office. This, in fact, was what he was desired to say.

When the time for the general election drew near, it was understood in Massachusetts that a great majority of its citizens demanded the choice of presidential electors who would cast the vote of the state for Mr. Webster; although the want of co-operation elsewhere, arising from the imperfect organization of the whig party, rendered it impossible that he should be chosen. After a bitter contest, Martin Van Buren, who had been vice president under General Jackson, was elected president of the United States.

In March, 1835, Governor Davis was elected to the Senate of the United States, and, through the remainder of his term,

¹ Curtis, *Life of Webster*, i. 509.

Samuel T. Armstrong, the lieutenant governor, performed the duties of the executive. In the autumn of 1835 the Hon. Edward Everett was nominated as chief magistrate by a whig convention held in Boston, and was elected by a majority of upward of eleven thousand votes.

CHAPTER XXII.

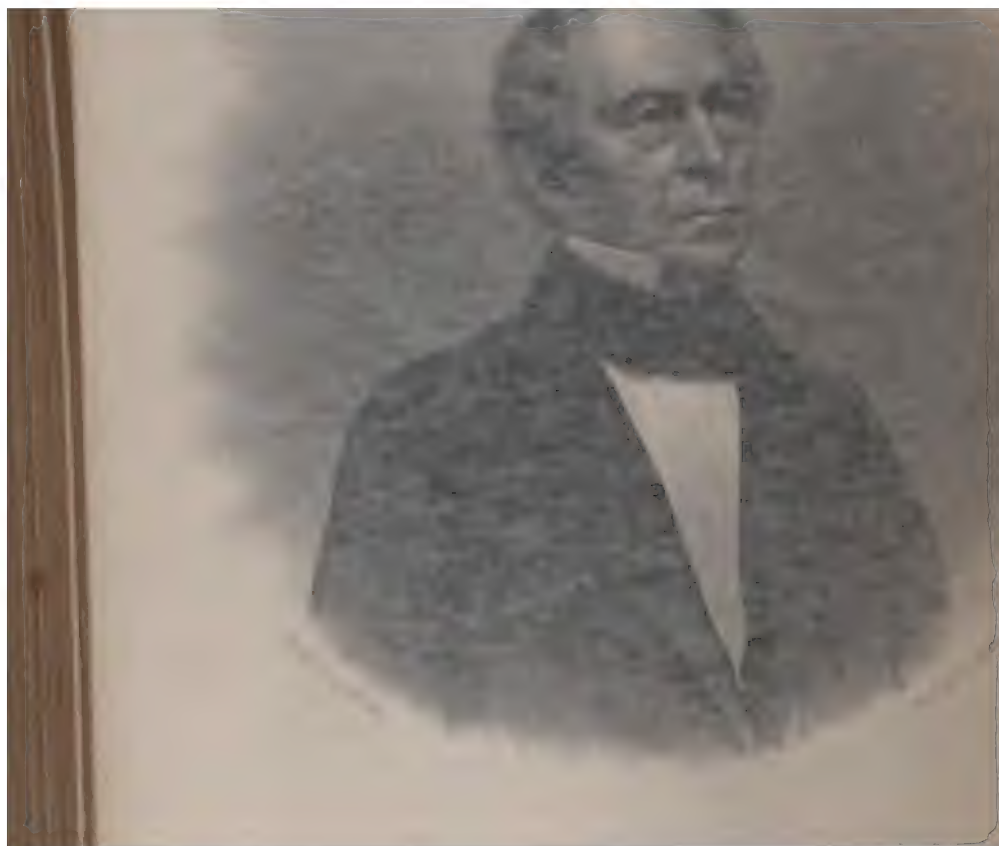
THE GROWTH OF PUBLIC OPINION.

It was a most felicitous concurrence of events that raised Edward Everett to the executive chair of Massachusetts. He was a ripe and accurate scholar, a man of large attainments, a brilliant orator, and not an inferior statesman. Born in 1794, and graduated from Harvard College in 1811, he was chosen to Congress by the young men in Middlesex in 1825, and from the very first became an earnest supporter of the administration of John Quincy Adams. He remained in Congress until 1835, the year in which he was chosen to the governorship.

Governor Everett's official term was a period of unusual interest in the history of the state. Foremost among the achievements during his administration was the establishing of a school system upon a better and more fruitful foundation than had hitherto been reached. In 1835, the Rev. Charles Brooks, of Medford, delivered a course of lectures on the Prussian system of State Normal Schools, in the town of Hingham. "The whole Prussian system," he said, "is built on these eight words, — As is the Teacher, so is the School;—and therefore we must have seminaries for the preparation of teachers, and I hope the first one will be in Plymouth county. From what I have learned, it is now my opinion that the Prussian system is to make a new era in the public elementary education of the United



Edward Everett.



States." In the following year the Rev. Mr. Brooks lectured in other parts of the state, and sought to establish the theory that there was need of a normal school, owned, supported, and governed by the state for the state's service.

Meanwhile a writer — and a graduate of Harvard College — had published an article in the "Boston Daily Advertiser," at that time the leading newspaper in New England, in which he facetiously ridiculed the idea of normal schools, and represented Mr. Brooks with a fool's cap on his head, marching up State Street, in Boston, at the head of a crowd of ragamuffin young men and women, who bore a banner with this inscription: "To a Normal School in the clouds." But such classic raillery passed for nothing, and the writer of the article survived long enough to discern a proof of his abysmal ignorance. The intelligent men and women in Plymouth county awakened to a sense of the importance of the subject, and in conventions assembled passed resolutions deploring the low state of the public schools, expressing a readiness for reform, and declaring, in favor of the Prussian model, that the surplus revenues should be used to advance the cause of education.

At the beginning of the new year Governor Everett asked, "Whether the creation of a Board of Commissioners of Schools, to serve without salary, with authority to appoint a secretary, on a reasonable compensation, to be paid from the school fund, would not be of great utility?" On the 10th of January the House of Representatives requested to be instructed on the subject of normal schools, and to Mr. Brooks the committee on education extended a patient hearing. A Plymouth county convention, held at Halifax on the 24th of January, voted to petition the legislature for normal schools. In the American Institute, Mr. Ichabod

Morton offered a resolution to petition for the same object. Mr. George B. Emerson prepared the petition, which, for comprehension of thought, force of statement, truth of reasoning, and persuasiveness of spirit, could not be surpassed. It need scarcely be said that by so doing, Mr. Emerson laid all future generations under obligations to his personal labors as a teacher, and to his pen, as a philosopher and Christian. One month later the Rev. Dr. Channing, in a public address, said, "We need an institution for the formation of better teachers; and, until this step is taken, we can make no important progress. An institution for training men to train the young would be a fountain of living waters, sending forth streams to refresh present and future ages. We trust that our legislators will not always prove blind to the highest interests of the state."

What had already been done carried conviction to every reasoning mind. Early in the spring a vote of the legislature established the Board of Education. On the 20th of April it was approved by the governor, and on the 29th of June it was organized. A few days later the Hon. Horace Mann laid down his law books, and became the first secretary of the Board. Not a man in the commonwealth could have planned more wisely or executed his duties more successfully. The record of his labors will be his everlasting monument. After providing for several county conventions, the Board of Education instituted a course of lectures to be delivered by different gentlemen in the House of Representatives. On the 25th of January, 1838, the Rev. Mr. Brooks spoke on "Normal Schools and school reform." Eight days later Governor Everett, who wrote the first annual report of the Board of Education, recommended that the legislature should establish normal

schools. The Hon. Edmund Dwight gave ten thousand dollars for the purpose, and on the 19th of April the legislature accepted this munificent gift, and established the first State Normal School — at Lexington — on this continent.¹

On the 15th of March, 1833, the persons who were then directors of the Boston and Worcester Railroad Company, were individually incorporated as "The Western Railroad Corporation," with authority to construct a railroad from the Boston and Worcester Railroad in Worcester, to Connecticut River in Springfield, and thence across it to the western boundary of the state, in a direction toward the Hudson River. The capital was to consist of not less than ten thousand, nor more than twenty thousand, shares, of one hundred dollars each.

The most unwearied exertions were made to procure the necessary subscriptions, and meetings were held in all the towns on the route of the road, and the citizens urgently appealed to. It had been agreed that the corporation should not be organized until two millions were subscribed by responsible parties, and that the construction of the road should not be commenced until the sum of ten dollars per share should be assessed and paid in on each share. People generally soon began to doubt the productiveness of the stock, and were slow to lend their aid. On the 13th of August, 1835, the directors of the Boston and Worcester company closed their books, — at which time seven thousand shares were wanting. As a last resort, it was determined to call a large mass meeting in Faneuil Hall, Boston, and such a meeting was held on the evening of the 7th of October. The Hon. Abbott Lawrence was appointed chairman, and the packed audience was addressed by some of the ablest

¹ This school was afterwards removed to Framingham.

speakers of the day. At this meeting a committee of six at large, and three for each ward in Boston and South Boston, was appointed to solicit further subscriptions. By the efforts of this and of other committees, the required amount was obtained by December 5, 1835, with sufficient surplus for losses and contingencies. On the 4th of the month following, the Western Railroad Corporation was duly organized.

Three days later Governor Everett, in his message to the legislature, said, "It is a matter of congratulation that the subscription to the capital stock to the amount of two millions of dollars has been filled." He added, "Should the work, in its progress, stand in need of resources beyond the reach of the enterprise and means of the individual citizens by whom it is undertaken, it is believed that the public patronage could be safely extended to it, as a project of vast general utility, whose successful execution would form an era in the prosperity of the state."

At the meeting of the stockholders for organization, the directors were instructed to apply to the legislature for aid in the construction of the road. The petition was drawn up and presented on the 16th of January. At the same session of the legislature was presented a memorial, signed by a large committee of the citizens of Boston, praying for the establishment of a bank, with a capital of ten millions. This and similar memorials from various parts of the state were referred to the committee on banks; and in the following March "An act to establish the State Bank of Massachusetts" was reported in the House. The main features of this act were: "A capital of ten millions, half the stock to be subscribed and owned by the state, and paid in, in gold and silver, or state scrip, at four and

one half per cent. interest, to run twenty years. For the remaining half, books to be opened for subscription in each county of the state. If a surplus was subscribed, the largest subscriptions to be reduced, &c. No bills under five dollars to be issued, and a branch might be established in each county in the state, the county voting for the same, and fixing its location. The tenth section required the directors to subscribe for ten thousand shares in the Western Railroad Corporation, and to pay all assessments on the same, — the bank to retain one half the bank tax on its capital, or twenty-five thousand dollars semi-annually, and the receipts and income on the stock in the road, — until the said tax and receipts should reimburse them for payments of the assessments."

Such a monster bank found no favor in the democratic party, but the large mass of business men were clamorous for an increase of bank capital on the withdrawal of the United States Bank. On the 26th of March, a special committee reported to the legislature a bill directing the state treasurer to subscribe one million dollars to the stock of the Western Railroad Corporation, and pay all assessments thereon, and providing that three of the nine directors of the road should be chosen by the legislature. On the 28th, the bill passed the House, was then received and passed by the Senate, and was signed by the governor on the 4th of April. On the 30th of March, the bank bill was rejected; but, upon being reconsidered the next day, it was indefinitely postponed on the motion of Mr. Lawrence, who had reported it.

It was during Governor Everett's administration that the question of slavery began to be very seriously and openly discussed. During the years of 1834-35, the proceedings of

the New England Anti-Slavery Society, which had recently assumed the name of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, were conducted on a more extended scale. On the 25th of January, 1837, this society assembled for the first time, in the hall of the House of Representatives, and eloquent speeches were made in favor of the abolition of slavery and of the slave trade in the District of Columbia. The flame thus kindled was not soon to be extinguished. At the sixth anniversary meeting of the society, in 1838, Mr. Edmund Quincy submitted a resolution, acknowledging the high degree in which the anti-slavery cause had prospered in the preceding year, and "the bright ray of promise which assures us that the beams of the Sun of Righteousness will not forever be obscured by the mists which rise from a sensual and mercenary world." A few weeks later the legislature adopted resolutions against the admission of Texas; against the admission of any more slave states; in favor of the abolition of slavery and the slave trade in the District of Columbia, and the prohibition of slavery in the territories. Meanwhile Wendell Phillips had raised his voice against the annexation of Texas, and Angelina E. Grimké, the first lady ever permitted to address a legislative committee in the commonwealth, had invoked the action of the legislature toward the same end.

On the 7th of November, 1837, the Rev. Elijah Lovejoy was murdered by a mob at Alton, Illinois. The tidings of this startling tragedy swept over the country like wild-fire, everywhere spreading alarm, and fixing the attention of thoughtful people. The enemies of slavery received the news with profound sorrow. On the 8th of December, Faneuil Hall was filled to overflowing with the citizens of Boston and vicinity. Dr. Channing made an impressive

appeal, and offered a series of resolutions. He was followed by James T. Austin, the attorney-general of the commonwealth. This adroit caucus speaker compared the murderers of Lovejoy with the men who destroyed the tea in Boston harbor, and, having pronounced a most disgraceful harangue, retired amid the plaudits of the riotous element of the meeting. Mr. Phillips then arose. "When I heard," said he, "the gentleman lay down principles which placed the murderers of Alton side by side with Otis and Hancock, with Quincy and Adams, I thought those pictured lips" — pointing to their portraits in the hall — "would have broken into voice to rebuke the recreant American, the slanderer of the dead. Sir, for the sentiments he has uttered, on soil consecrated by the prayers of the Puritans and the blood of patriots, the earth should have yawned and swallowed him up." At this point the wildest confusion ensued, and it was with the greatest difficulty that the speaker's voice could be heard. Mr. Phillips firmly declared that he would not retract what he had said, and closed his speech by remarking that, "when liberty was in danger, Faneuil Hall had the right, and it was her duty, to strike the key-note for the Union; that the passage of the resolutions, in spite of the opposition, led by the attorney-general, will show more decidedly the deep indignation with which Boston regards this outrage."

By this sublime effort Mr. Phillips placed himself among the foremost of American orators; and upon that very day he consecrated himself to the defence of human rights, and took that hazardous position which he subsequently maintained. Nor was Phillips the only champion of the cause. Others there were, and, in the days to come, history will point with more than common pride to the names of William

Lloyd Garrison, Amos A. Phelps, Edmund Quincy, William Ellery Channing, and of a score of others, as the few brave souls who dared to assert the justice of freedom, and to strike the key-note for the Union.

The last year of Jackson's administration appeared to be one of great national prosperity. Two years before, the public debt had been cancelled, and a surplus remained in the treasury of nearly forty millions of dollars. The state banks, in which the deposits had been placed, loaned money freely, and other banks sprang into existence, until their number reached to seven hundred and fifty. The notes with which they flooded the country gave a fictitious value to everything that was bought and sold. The wildest schemes of speculation were set afloat, and the sales of the public lands alone amounted to millions in a month. In order to restrain the sale of public lands, President Jackson had issued, through the treasury department, an order known as the "Specie Circular," requiring the collectors at the office to receive only gold and silver in payments for land; and six months later, Congress, by law, distributed the government funds among the states, on deposit in the banks. To meet such a demand, the loans were called in; and the specie circular arrested the circulation of the bank notes, and brought them back to their counters to be exchanged for gold and silver.

Six months after this distribution the business of the whole country was prostrated. The financial storm of 1837 was one of the most disastrous that had ever been known. Over the entire land it winged its fearful course, visiting Massachusetts, and particularly Boston, and sparing no commercial community. Improvements of all kinds ceased; thousands of laboring men were thrown out of employ-

ment. All of the banks had suspended specie payment. Such was the condition of affairs, that the importers had neither gold nor silver to pay duties, and the government itself was deprived of the means to defray its current expenses. Congress assembled in September; but the president had no suggestions to offer, and appeared to be in favor of the people taking care of themselves.

During this year a scandalous occurrence took place in Boston, in the payment, by the local disbursing officers of the United States, of pensions and fishing bounties in the bills of a bank—the Commonwealth—which was on the eve of failure. By this meretricious proceeding hundreds of people were defrauded of their all. On the 17th of January, 1838, Mr. Webster brought this disgraceful affair before the Senate. Upon this occasion, he pointed out that, “while the general paper currency of the country was left depreciated and deranged for the want of some regulating and restraining power, the establishment of an exclusive system of gold and silver for government use could not secure safety to the government or its creditors; for, in spite of the provisions of law, the disbursing agents of the government will always be tempted to offer, and the creditors be made to accept, paper which passes for money in the particular locality, and which is exposed at all times to the hazard of falling dead in the hands of its holders. He held the scheme of one kind of currency for the government and another for the people to be both impracticable and dangerous.”¹

On the 17th of September, 1836, Harvard College celebrated her second centennial anniversary. It was an occasion of peculiar interest for all of her sons, and the

¹ *Life of Webster*, i. 575. *Works*, iv. 377, seq.

festivities were remarkably brilliant and successful. Upwards of fifteen hundred graduates and their friends, from all parts of the country, assembled in Cambridge on that day. President Quincy delivered the address in the church, and at the dinner, which was served under a large pavilion, Governor Everett presided in an admirable manner. In the evening the college yard and halls were illuminated, and a reception was given at the president's house, which was attended by a host of distinguished strangers who had been called together by the anniversary. The day was one never to be forgotten by such as had the good fortune to be present.

In the election of 1839, the Democrats carried the day, and the Hon. Marcus Morton, their candidate, was chosen to the office of chief magistrate. Mr. Everett lost his reelection by a single vote, much to the sorrow of his friends and supporters. Mr. Everett was one of the most successful governors of the commonwealth. As the education of the people was the central idea of his life, so did he always seek to encourage every movement which had for its object the elevation of the people and the internal improvement of the state. It was at his suggestion that the Statute Laws of the state were revised, and that, in 1838, the agricultural, zoölogical, and geological surveys of the state were made.

In his inaugural message to the legislature, Governor Morton reviewed the industrial, educational, and financial condition of the state, and urged a rigorous retrenchment of expenses in all departments of public interest. The legislature acted fully in accordance with this policy, and sought to practise economy to the detriment of some of the better interests of the commonwealth. The committee

on education were instructed to inquire into the expediency of continuing the Board of Education and normal schools; and, acting on the recommendation of this committee, the House, in March, passed an act abolishing the Board of Education. This act was rejected by the Senate, however, and was refused by the governor. In the meantime certain members of the committee on education presented a minority report on the subject. The wisdom of this report undoubtedly saved the state from disgrace. "Whatever objections" — such were its closing words — "any one might have had to the establishment of the Board and the normal schools originally, yet since they have been created, and organized, it seems but right that they should have a fair trial. Let the experiment be tried, and not broken off as soon as begun. It has not yet had that trial. A change in public sentiment cannot be effected at once. Any new proposition, however valuable, may meet with opposition at first. If the Board and normal schools are abolished now, they cannot be said to have failed. They will have fallen prematurely by the hand which should have sustained them. Men who desire to see the whole people educated in the manner that the citizens of a free republic ought to be, that rational and immortal beings ought to be, will not be satisfied until measures which they deem important to effect their favorite object have been fairly tested." •

Mr. Morton failed of re-election in 1840, and was succeeded in the executive chair by the Hon. John Davis. During Governor Davis's administration the old partisan strife was continued, while the vigor and earnestness of the abolitionists were unabated. The great political struggle of this year resulted in the triumph of the whig party, not only in Massachusetts, but in many other states of the

Union. The whigs secured William Henry Harrison as the executive of the nation, and large majorities in both houses of Congress. But the cause of freedom gained little by the change.

In the autumn of 1842, George Latimer, a native of Virginia, was arrested in Boston without a warrant, and claimed as a slave. The case was brought before the courts, where Chief Justice Shaw ruled that "the statute of the United States authorized the owner of the fugitive to arrest him in any state to which he might have fled." Pending further action, Latimer remained in Boston jail. As soon as tidings of this proceeding were spread abroad, the greatest excitement prevailed. On the 30th of October—a Sabbath evening—a large body of citizens met in Faneuil Hall. Speeches were made, and resolutions were presented, protesting, "by all the glorious memories of the revolutionary struggle, in the names of justice, liberty, and right, in the awful name of God, against the deliverance of George Latimer into the hands of his pursuers." Letters also were read from John Quincy Adams, George Bancroft, Samuel Hoar, William B. Calhoun, and others. Amid hisses and uproar, Wendell Phillips sought to speak. "When I look," he said, "upon these crowded thousands, and see them trample on their consciences and the rights of their fellow-men at the bidding of a piece of parchment, I say, 'My curse be upon the constitution of these United States.'"

A few days later, a petition signed by many influential citizens was presented to the sheriff, demanding the dismissal of the jailer. At the same time, another petition was prepared requesting Governor Davis to dismiss the sheriff unless he removed the jailer. Then it was that the Rev. Nathaniel Colver agreed to pay the sum of four

hundred dollars "on the delivery of free papers, and the surrender of the power of attorney to reclaim his wife." The offer was accepted, and Latimer was released.

The excitement, however, did not end here. A convention was held, and a petition was presented to the legislature, praying that body to "forbid all persons holding office under the laws of the state from aiding in the arrest or detention of persons claimed as fugitives from slavery; to forbid the use of jails, or other public property, for their detention; and to prepare amendments to the federal constitution that should forever separate the people of the state from all connection with slavery." Subsequently, certain resolves of the legislature of Massachusetts, proposing to Congress to recommend, according to the provisions of the fifth article of the constitution of the United States, an amendment to the said constitution, in effect abolishing the representation for slaves, and signed by fifty thousand of the citizens of the state, were laid upon the desk of John Quincy Adams. The resolutions were presented to the House on the 21st of December, 1843. A great sensation resulted in the hall. Said Henry A. Wise, of Virginia, "I say solemnly before God, as a southern man, that we are worsted in this fight. From this day forth and forever I withdraw from the fight. I say to my constituents, that the way this battle has been fought, there is no hope for your rights. Your interests are doomed to be destroyed."

Mr. Adams was calm and dignified. He wished the members to remember that these were the resolutions of the democratic legislature of Massachusetts, and, as for himself, although he was not an abolitionist, in the sense of any abolition society he was acquainted with, he believed,

with Jefferson, that the God of nature had decreed the freedom of the slaves, and the sooner it came the better. When the resolutions of Massachusetts were referred to the House, that body rejected them. In the Senate they were not only rejected, but denounced in the most unsparing terms. They were characterized as "seditious, incendiary, and revolutionary."¹

For many years two important questions of controversy between the United States government and that of Great Britain had remained unadjusted. One growing out of certain revolutionary disturbances along the Canada borders, and the other in relation to the north-eastern boundary, between the State of Maine and the British province of New Brunswick. Soon after entering upon his duties as secretary of state, Mr. Webster, with the sanction of the president, intimated to the British minister at Washington, that the government of the United States was desirous of arranging the boundary dispute, by agreeing on a line, by compromise or convention. With full powers to settle the controversy, the British government deputed Lord Ashburton as special minister to the United States.

In this case, the interests of two states — Maine and Massachusetts — were involved; for in the disputed territory lay a large tract of land, the soil of which was claimed by these states, and in addition to this, Massachusetts claimed the political jurisdiction. On the 3d of March, 1842, in anticipation of the arrival of Lord Ashburton, the legislature of Massachusetts adopted resolutions, declaring that the boundary line could be easily traced in accordance with the treaty of 1783; that Massachusetts had a joint interest with the State of Maine in the proposed negotia-

¹ Wilson, *Rise and Fall*, ii. 470-487. Quincy, *Life of J. Q. Adams*, 409 seq.

tions, and would take all needful steps to secure her rights, and that no compromise could be made without the assent of the two states. Lord Ashburton arrived in Washington on the 4th of April, and on the 11th, Mr. Webster officially informed the governors of Maine and Massachusetts of his arrival, and suggested to them the appointment of commissioners for the purpose of assenting to the line that might be agreed upon. Governor Davis, in reply, signified that the commissioners would probably be appointed, and that the state was ready to make any reasonable concessions to the convenience of Great Britain, "but nothing—not a rood of barren heath or rock—to unfounded claims."

Commissioners of the two states were appointed, and in June they arrived in Washington. Negotiations were at once commenced, and a treaty was concluded. The United States obtained the navigation of the St. John's River to its mouth, and the very important military position, Rouse's Point, at the outlet of Lake Champlain. Great Britain received, in exchange, a small territory of swamps, heath, and rocks, and barren mountains, covered with snow the greater part of the year,—a territory valuable only because it enabled her to make a direct road from the province of New Brunswick to the St. Lawrence.

On the 17th of September, 1842, the whigs of Massachusetts held a convention of delegates in Boston for the purpose of selecting candidates for the state offices. This body adopted several resolutions, one of which, after reciting the offences of President Tyler against the whig party, concluded thus: "That by these acts, through which he has compelled the whigs to leave the country suffering under the evils inflicted upon it by his predecessor

in office, he has left no alternative to the whigs of Massachusetts but to declare, as they do now declare, their full and final separation from him." On the 30th of September, Mr. Webster addressed the people in Faneuil Hall on the questions of the day, and particularly with reference to his own relations to the country and the party to which he belonged. In a plain, perspicuous manner, he rebuked the whig policy, and exposed the folly of widening the breach between Congress and the president. Such a rebuke was deserved; for, in direct disregard of Mr. Webster's claims, the convention of the 17th of September had committed the whig party of the state to the nomination of Mr. Clay by the next national convention. Mr. Clay's friends could now say that the whigs of Massachusetts had decided against Mr. Webster, and thus laid the foundation for an opposition to Mr. Webster in the ranks of his own party.

In January, 1843, the Hon. Marcus Morton again took his seat as governor of the commonwealth. On the 8th of May, Mr. Webster resigned his office as secretary of state. The relations which had sprung up between President Tyler and some members of the democratic party, from the continued assaults made by him upon the whigs, had come to render Mr. Webster's position in the cabinet distasteful. Scarcely had Mr. Webster sought retirement in his home in Marshfield, when the whigs began to see that they had made a great political mistake in giving the voice of the party in Massachusetts to Mr. Clay as their candidate for the presidency, in advance of the assembling of a national convention. A large majority of the party were anxious to have Mr. Webster reappear upon the political stage; and in accordance with such a wish,

they requested him to be present at a whig convention that was to be held at Andover on the 9th of November.

At the appointed time the convention met, and Mr. Webster was on hand, ready to vindicate his personal title to be regarded as a whig. In the course of his speech at Andover Mr. Webster remarked, "Gentlemen, I thought I saw an opportunity of doing the state some service, and I ran the risk of the undertaking. I certainly do not regret it, and never shall regret it. And it is in no spirit of boasting or vainglory, it is from no undue feeling of self-respect, that I say now, that I am ready to leave it to the public judgment to decide whether my remaining in the cabinet was best for the country, or, on the other hand, whether my leaving it would have been better for the country. On this question I am in the judgment of this generation and the next generation, and am willing that my name, and fame, and character shall abide the result."

In the fall election of this year George N. Briggs was chosen governor of Massachusetts by the then dominant party—the whigs. Never went a citizen of a free and prosperous commonwealth up from his coveted retirement to an uncoveted seat of authority, with less ambition for self-aggrandizement and larger aspirations for the popular weal, than did he in obeying the voice of Massachusetts, bidding him administer her laws, and preside over her material and moral interests. Governor Briggs was ushered into office in January, 1844. Of his official messages and acts, during his first term, there were none requiring special note.

In August of this year was celebrated the "Berkshire Jubilee." It was a reunion of the sons and daughters of that most beautiful region,—the Piedmont of America,

—a region where hill and valley, lake and streamlet, alternate their charms with endless succession, and scarcely less variety. The jubilee was celebrated with song, and speech, and sermon. To Pittsfield, poets and philosophers, and divines and merchant princes, brought their tribute, and all the village held high holiday. Governor Briggs presided at the festival, and made a most felicitous address. Oliver Wendell Holmes read a poem full of humor and good cheer, and the feasting and music were “forever memorable.”

The election of James K. Polk to the presidency, in the autumn of 1844, and the annexation of Texas, largely encouraged and strengthened the pro-slavery party both in the north and in the south. Many members of the whig party were depressed in spirit, and began to doubt the expediency of any further contest. The sentiment of Massachusetts was always opposed to slavery. True, this profession was not always directly expressed; but then the opinion generally prevailed that the anti-slavery cause was one absolutely righteous, and that it would eventually receive its vindication. Already it was apparent that the general government was under the control of slavery, and that the democratic party, who alone were responsible for the administration and its policy, would be compelled either to sustain or to dissolve it. Thus it happened that alternatives were left open to the whig party, namely, to go counter to slavery, make a direct issue, and attract to its banner the spirit of freedom, of progress, and of the nineteenth century; or fall back upon the ideas of the dark ages, and run a race with democracy for influence and co-operation. It was at this point that the so called “Liberty party” arose, — a party based on the idea that “any effective opposition to slavery politically must come from the disintegration of the old

parties, and the combination of their material into the new organization."

Political strife mounted high at this period ; and notwithstanding that the popularity of the governor was almost universal, the issue of the election hung in doubt. When it was over, and the incumbent returned triumphantly to his chair, Governor Briggs thus wrote : " The election is over, and for the old Bay State, well over. Boston has outdone herself. With the difficulties she had to encounter, I think she has achieved a more remarkable victory than ever before. All eyes were turned toward her, from Texas to the St. John's. She is Boston still, and Massachusetts is Massachusetts still. The result shows a triumph of principle. In this she has covered herself with honor. Let justice, stability, and truth be her motto, and no matter how humble those she puts forward, she will prevail." ¹

At the beginning of the session of 1846, Governor Briggs laid before the legislature certain resolutions concerning slavery and the action of Massachusetts, which had been adopted by the state legislature of Georgia. Henry Wilson, of Natick, moved that these resolutions might be referred to a special committee, and offered an order that they " be instructed to report a preamble and resolution which should express in fitting terms the hostility of Massachusetts to the institution of slavery." This motion gave rise to great excitement in the hall ; and the order was vehemently opposed both by the whigs and the democrats. At length a compromise, in the shape of an amendment, was tendered, and the committee were left to act without instructions.

In defending the order which he had offered, Mr. Wilson affirmed that " we must destroy slavery, or slavery will

¹ Letter to his son-in-law, 13 Nov., 1845.

destroy liberty. We must restore our government to its original and pristine purity. The contest is a glorious one. Let us be cheered by the fact that the bold and daring effort of the slave power to arrest the progress of free principles has awakened and aroused the nation. That power has won a brilliant victory in the acquisition of Texas; yet it is only one victory, in its long series, over the constitution and liberties of the country. Other fields are yet to be fought; and if we are true to the country, freedom, and to humanity, the future has yet a Waterloo in store for the supporters of this unholy system." For himself, Mr. Wilson was ready to act with any man or party — whig, democrat, Abolitionist, Christian, or infidel — who would go for the cause of emancipation.¹

The report of the committee was evasive and mild, as might well have been anticipated; and Mr. Wilson was compelled to make a minority report, which created a profound sensation in the House and in the Senate. It closed with the declaration, that the experience of sixty years afforded ample evidence that only by an adherence far more stern than that of our fathers to the principles of the Declaration of Independence, and a use far more vigorous than theirs of all the powers of self-preservation and defence, which the constitution has secured to the freemen of the Union, will the Union and our liberties be preserved, and with them the hopes of the race for long years to come.

On the 11th of May, 1845, Congress voted that "by the act of the Republic of Mexico, war exists between that government and the United States." The Mexican war was regarded by many, especially in the Northern States, as a great calamity, and the whigs openly declared that the

¹ Mann, *Life of Wilson*, 27.

war was really not begun by Mexico, but by General Taylor. Congress also voted ten million dollars for the war, and resolved to raise fifty thousand volunteers. The Eastern States furnished only a very small force, for the reason that they cherished not much sympathy for the impending struggle. It was about this time that Charles Sumner, a graduate of Harvard College, and a promising Boston lawyer, was lifted prominently into public notice. He had already allied himself with the champions of freedom, and like Garrison, and a few others, had well nigh forfeited political caste, and was branded as an agitator and an abolitionist. Still, Mr. Sumner was no revolutionist, and hoped to meet the commanding question of slavery on constitutional grounds alone.

In the autumn of 1846, he sharply criticised the course of Robert C. Winthrop in respect to the Mexican war. "Through you," he said, "the Bostonians have been made to declare an unjust and cowardly war with falsehood in the cause of slavery. Through you they have been made partakers in the blockade of Vera Cruz, in the seizure of California, in the capture of Santa Fé, in the bloodshed of Monterey. It were idle to suppose that the poor soldier, or officer only, is stained by this guilt. It reaches far back, and incarnadines the halls of Congress; nay more, through you it reddens the hands of your constituents in Boston." In January, 1847, Mr. Sumner, before the Supreme Court of Massachusetts, argued against the validity of enlistments in the regiment of volunteers raised by the state for the war; and on the 4th of February he spoke in Faneuil Hall, demanding the withdrawal of the American troops from Mexican soil. "The war," he said, "is not only unconstitutional, it is unjust; it is vile in its object and character. It has its origin in a well known series of measures to extend

and perpetuate slavery. It is a war which must ever be odious in history, beyond the common measure allotted to the outrages of brutality which disfigure other nations and times. It is a slave-driving war. In its principle, it is only a little above those miserable conflicts between the barbarian chiefs of Central Africa to obtain slaves for the inhuman markets of Brazil. Such a war must be accursed in the sight of God. Why is it not accursed in the sight of man ? ”

During these years the cause of public education was steadily fostered by Governor Briggs, — this partly from its intrinsic importance, and partly because public attention was at that time strongly concentrated upon it. On the interesting occasion of the inauguration of the State Normal School at Westfield, in the month of September, 1846, he was the orator ; and his catholic mind grasped the great theory of education, from the lowest to the highest arenas, and made clear the controlling value of the mainspring of all its workings. In the first report of the Board of Education to the legislature, which he signed as chairman, the principle which underlies the whole system of common-school education is thus stated : —

“The cardinal principle which lies at the foundation of our educational system is, that all the children of the state shall be educated by the state. As our republican government was founded upon the virtue and intelligence of the people, it was rightly concluded by its framers, that without a wise educational system, the government itself could not exist, and in ordaining that the expenses of educating the people should be defrayed by the people at large, without reference to the particular benefit to individuals, it was considered that those who, perhaps without children of their own, nevertheless, would be compelled to pay a large tax,

would receive an ample equivalent in the protection of their persons, and the security of their property." This principle was efficiently carried out by Governor Briggs during the whole course of his administration. In giving a new impulse to common schools, the Board of Education relied chiefly upon the labors of their secretary, Horace Mann, and upon normal schools. To these were soon added Teachers' Institutes, with lectures and specific subjects employed by the state, and also assistants to the secretary, both permanent and temporary, in awakening an interest in the schools throughout the state. Nor was the governor slow to perceive the advantages to be derived from education in its higher forms. On the occasion of an agricultural fair, he said, in an address, that he "wanted to see the time when there should be none more intelligent than farmers; when the farmers' boys should go to Amherst, or Cambridge, or Williams, and return to their homes prepared to settle down as intelligent, useful, and happy farmers."

On the 27th of August, 1845, commencement day, Mr. Quincy resigned the presidency of Harvard College. In the following year, the governor of the commonwealth inducted the Hon. Edward Everett into the vacant office. The address which the governor made on this occasion is worthy of being always remembered as the chaste, felicitous language of one, who, without the aid of learning, achieved honors and distinctions which any graduate of Harvard might envy. It is here given in full.

"Sir: You having been duly elected president of Harvard College, in compliance with ancient custom, and in the name of the Overseers, I do now invest you with the government and authority of that institution, to be exercised in the same manner and to the same extent as has been

heretofore done by your predecessors in office. I deliver to you these keys, with these books and papers, as badges of your authority ; confident that you will exercise and administer the same according to the usages of the institution, and in obedience to the laws and constitution of the commonwealth.

“ Allow me, sir, to congratulate you, and the officers and friends of this venerable university, upon the auspicious circumstances in which you enter into office. Having filled the most important civil stations in your own state, and under the government of the republic, with credit to yourself, and with honor to your country, you have now come up to this literary eminence, at the bidding of its authority, to take charge of the parent university of the New World. The entire unanimity with which you were chosen to this responsible trust, bears testimony to the estimate in which your qualifications were held by those whose duty it was to fill the vacancy occasioned by the retirement of your distinguished predecessor. A long line of learned and good men have, by their example, illuminated the path in which you are to walk. It does not become me to speak of the duties you are to perform. They are before you, and, in anticipation, you know them by heart.

“ To influence the young men of this country, to enlighten their minds, make right impressions upon their yielding hearts, to fashion their manners, mould their characters, and send them forth into the world qualified to act their part in society, and fulfil their destiny on earth, is, in my estimation, the highest and noblest object to which genius, and learning, and patriotism, and piety can be devoted. In early youth, your Alma Mater adorned you with her brightest honors, and bade you go forth into the world. Like a dutiful son,

you have returned to render her the services of ripened manhood, and to aid her in raising up and sending out still other happy and promising sons.

“ More than half a century ago, Edmund Burke, in speaking of the English and French nobility, said, ‘ The latter had the advantage of the former, in being surrounded by the powerful outguard of a military education.’ History has shown how powerless that outguard was in protecting the nobility of France, and France herself, against the attacks of an internal foe. It will be your brightest purpose, and the purpose of those who co-operate with you in this ancient seat of learning, to protect the youth committed to your care, by planting in the citadel of their hearts the more powerful *internal* guard of a Christian education. While pouring upon their opening minds the light of literature and science, there will be presented to them the beauties of practical Christianity, and strongly inculcated upon their moral nature the sublime doctrines and holy precepts of ‘ Him who spake as never man spake.’ Here let young men learn that true heroism consists in doing good ; that the highest attainment of personal honor is the forgiveness of injuries, and that God has made greatness and goodness inseparable.

“ It only remains for me to express the great satisfaction which I feel in being made the organ of the Board of Overseers for inducting you into office ; and I am sure, sir, that I may say for the people of the whole commonwealth, you have their confidence in advance, that by a liberal and just administration of the affairs of the college, you will, so far as in you lies, maintain its high reputation, make its benefits accessible to the aspirants after knowledge among all classes of our young men, and strengthen the public attachment

for this institution of the state, which was founded by the liberality, the wisdom, and the prayers of our Puritan Fathers."

On the 21st of February, 1848, John Quincy Adams was seized with paralysis in the House of Representatives, at Washington, and two days later his spirit peacefully departed. The gate of fear and envy was now closed; that of honor and fame had opened. Men of all parties united in paying just tributes to his memory; and when his remains were borne to Massachusetts, they were attended by thirty members of the House—one from each state in the Union. They were received in Boston by a committee appointed by the legislature of the state, and by the municipal government; remained in state in Faneuil Hall for a brief period, and were then removed to Quincy, the birthplace of Mr. Adams. The venerable statesman died in the eightieth year of his life—having been born on the 11th of July, 1767.

The growth of Boston was so rapid, that what was originally calculated to be a sufficient supply of water for half a century, was, in a few years, found to be inadequate. Previous to 1848, the city was dependent upon wells and springs, and upon Jamaica Pond, in the town of West Roxbury. But it soon appeared that the prospective wants of the city were far beyond the capacity of this pond to supply. In 1845 the difficulty was settled in favor of Lake Cochituate, lying in the towns of Natick, Framingham and Wayland. In the following year a legislative act granted the use of this lake, and a committee was appointed by the Boston City Council to carry the act into execution. New surveys were made, and an improved line of aqueduct was selected for conveying the water. In the same year the work was put

under contract, and ground was broken on the 20th of August. The water was conveyed through a brick conduit from the eastern shore of the lake to a reservoir lying in the towns of Newton and Brookline. This reservoir is about five miles from the Boston City Hall. The length of the conduit was about fourteen and one half miles. From the reservoir to Boston, the water was conveyed through two iron pipes into a central reservoir on Beacon Hill, near the State House. On the 25th of October, 1848, the water was introduced into the city. A great procession was organized on that day, which marched through the principal streets to the Common, where, after prayer and singing, and appropriate literary exercises, the water was let on through the gate of the fountain, amid the shouts of the people, the roar of cannon, the hiss of rockets, and the ringing of bells.

Toward the close of the year 1849, occurred in Boston one of the foulest murders recorded in the annals of crime, — the murder of Dr. George Parkman by Dr. John W. Webster, the Professor of Chemistry in Harvard College. From one end of the country to the other the public mind was aroused to an almost unparalleled degree. The deed was speedily followed by a trial, and a vindication of the majesty of the law. After the conviction of the prisoner, and after the sentence of condemnation to death had been pronounced, the governor was subjected to solicitations, entreaties, pleas, threats, and even offered bribes, if haply he might be prevailed upon to commute the sentence pronounced against the criminal. But the executive of the commonwealth stood firm. The nation held its breath with a deep applause. The public voice of this continent at length declared the sublimity of his more than Roman — his Christian — firmness in withholding his hand from

altering, by one whit, the awful but just sentence of the court.

In the spring of 1850, Governor Briggs felt the cares of state weighing heavily upon him, and the desire to lay them aside prevailed with him to decline a nomination. But the electors, to whom, on the 27th of April, he declared his intention of retiring, paid little heed to his address. He was again nominated, and at the election he was defeated, — not, however, by the direct vote of the people, but by the legislature, into which the election was thrown. At the opening of the legislative session in 1851, Governor Briggs resigned the office which he had filled with success and honor for seven years, and extended his greeting to the newly elected incumbent of the chair of state.

The public life of Governor Briggs was cast in a rare model, and his character will always be numbered with the jewels of the old commonwealth. An anecdote, illustrating his independence of character, may fittingly close the present chapter. A gentleman of Boston called upon His Excellency one evening, and remarked, —

“Governor, a few evenings since, among our friends, a matter came up in which you were mentioned; but as it was personal, I am not sure that I do right to speak of it.”

“O, speak out, speak out,” said the governor.

“Well, then, our friends agreed that for one who occupies so honorable and dignified a position as governor of the state, you attend too many temperance conventions, and make too many temperance speeches. They think it is not exactly the thing for a governor to do.”

“When you see those friends on your return,” replied the governor, “give them my best respects, and say to them, that in my opinion, to attend temperance meetings

and conventions, and make temperance speeches, is not only the most dignified, but the most honorable, as well as most useful employment the people of Massachusetts can put their governor to ; and that while I am governor I shall continue at this business."

CHAPTER XXIII.

THE SLAVERY AGITATION.

ON the 1st of May, 1848, a democratic convention met at Baltimore to nominate a candidate for the presidency. Two sets of delegates appeared from New York, both claiming to be the true representatives of the democracy of that state. No compromise could reconcile the parties, and the convention solved the difficulty by excluding both from its deliberations. It then proceeded to nominate Senator Lewis Cass, of Michigan, for president, and General William O. Butler, of Kentucky, for vice president. The delegates representing the whig party, and those opposed to the measures of the administration, met at Philadelphia, and nominated General Zachary Taylor for president, and Millard Fillmore, of New York, for vice president. One portion of the New York democracy accepted the nominations of the Baltimore convention; another portion rejected them. The latter called a convention at Baltimore, adopted a platform in favor of "Free Soil," and nominated ex-president Van Buren for the presidency, and Charles Francis Adams, son of John Quincy Adams, for the vice presidency. After a spirited canvass, the candidates of the whig party were elected; and on the 4th of March, 1849, the new president was inducted into office.

The death of John Quincy Adams created a vacancy in the eighth Congressional District of Massachusetts. Mr. Wilson

was ahead of any other candidate for his succession, and Mr. Horace Mann was his only opposing candidate. Wilson's strength was so great that he was chosen to represent the district in the national whig convention, then about to assemble at Philadelphia to nominate General Taylor for the presidency. Taylor was elected, but survived only a little more than a year afterwards, and was succeeded by Fillmore. Mr. Wilson went to the convention, with the intention of having incorporated in the platform the first fundamental republican principle, in a form as strong, at least, as the Wilmot Proviso, which proposed that slavery should be prohibited in all territory obtained by treaty. But the convention refused to concede anything to the anti-slavery sentiment of the party. Henry Wilson and Charles Allen, therefore, bolted, and a wild uproar in the convention was the result. A delegate from North Carolina remarked that the gentlemen were "injuring no one but themselves." A few days later, Wilson published an open defence of his course. "Bitter denunciations," said he, "have already been heaped upon me; yet I see nothing to retract. No hope of political reward, no fear of ridicule or denunciation, will deter me from acting up to my convictions of duty in resisting the extension of slavery, and the arrogant demands of the slave power."

The "Free Soil" party, whose leading policy was free soil, free labor, free speech, free men, and opposition to the extension of slavery and of the slaveholding power, taking the place of the old Liberty party, was now formed. In Massachusetts, conventions, mass meetings, school-district gatherings, speeches, consultations, and appeals in writing, were the order of the day. In the course of events, the whig party, having lost its vital principle, became a mere

faction, and gradually went out of existence as a political power. The solidity of the democratic party was also broken. In the ranks of this party were a few men of liberal views, progressive ideas, and fine abilities, prominent among whom were Nathaniel P. Banks and George S. Boutwell. To these men was suggested the feasibility of united operations between their two parties. Mr. Banks feared that any such arrangement would be misconstrued and misrepresented, and, finally, defeated; although Mr. Boutwell was more cautious, he, too, thought that the experiment could not succeed. Shortly afterward, however, the idea began to take with the leading men of both the free soil and democratic parties, and finally developed into what was termed the "Coalition," and proved successful.

The plan agreed upon was this: To run separate candidates for governor, and "unite on members of the legislature in towns where the two parties, by combining, could elect their men. As it required a majority vote to elect the governor, there would be no choice by the people, and the legislature would choose the governor. It was understood from the start that the free soil party wanted the United States senator, and would unite for nothing else; and it was further understood that they wanted Charles Sumner."¹

When the time for the gubernatorial election arrived, in the autumn of 1850, the democrats voted for George S. Boutwell, an intrepid debater, who had won fame in the House. The whig candidate, as has been previously stated, was he who had already filled the station for seven years, — Governor Briggs. There was no choice; and hence the matter went to the legislature, where, by the aid of the

¹ Mann, 33.

free soil members, Mr. Boutwell was elected governor. Mr. Wilson was chosen president of the senate, and Mr. Banks speaker of the House.

One of the earliest acts of Mr. Fillmore, after having assumed executive power, was to sign the infamous "Fugitive Slave Bill." The spirit of the north was aroused, and indignation came rolling like a pent-up torrent that had broken through the dam. A convention of the free soil party was held at Boston on the 3d of October, 1850, before which Mr. Sumner, being present, fearlessly denounced the iniquity of the bill. "I would not exaggerate," said the speaker; "I wish to keep within bounds; but I think no person can doubt that the condemnation now affixed to all these transactions, and to their authors, must be the lot hereafter of the Fugitive Slave Bill, and of every one, according to the measure of his influence, who gave it his support. Into the immortal catalogue of national crimes this has now passed, drawing after it, by an inexorable necessity, its authors also, and chiefly him, who, as president of the United States, set his name to the bill, and breathed into it that final breath without which it would have no life. Other presidents may be forgotten; but the name signed to the Fugitive Slave Bill can never be forgotten. There are depths of infamy, as there are heights of fame. I regret to say what I must; but truth compels me. Better for him had he never been born! . . . I will not dishonor the home of the Pilgrims and of the revolution by admitting, nay, I cannot believe—that this bill will be executed here. Individuals among us, as elsewhere, may forget humanity in a fancied loyalty to law, but the public conscience will not allow a man, who has trodden our streets as a freeman, to be dragged

away as a slave. By his escape from bondage, he has shown that true manhood, which must grapple to him every honest heart. He may be ignorant and rude, as he is poor; but he is of a true nobility. The fugitive slaves of the United States are among the heroes of our age." "We demand, first and foremost," he continued, "the instant repeal of the Fugitive Slave Law. We demand the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia. We demand the exercise by Congress, in all territories, of the time-honored power to prohibit slavery. We demand of Congress to refuse to receive into the Union any new slave state. We demand the abolition of the domestic slave trade, so far as it can be constitutionally reached, but particularly on the high seas, under the national flag. And, generally, we demand from the federal government the exercise of all its constitutional power to relieve itself from the responsibility for slavery. And yet one thing further must be done; the slave power must be overturned, so that the federal government may be put openly, actively, and perpetually on the side of freedom." Faneuil Hall never rang with more impassioned eloquence than this.

In the following January, Charles Sumner was nominated for senator by the free soil party, and was presented for the suffrages of the democratic members of the legislature. But Charles Sumner was an abolitionist, and the democratic party, as a national organization, was under control of the slave power. When the time for election came on, the coalition, which had succeeded in electing Mr. Boutwell for chief magistrate, was not strong enough to elect Mr. Sumner for senator, without some opposition. The opponent of Mr. Sumner was Robert C. Winthrop, the whig candidate. On the 16th of January, 1851, the long and

bitter contest began. As yet, Mr. Sumner had never held any political office, while Mr. Winthrop, who was an intimate friend of Daniel Webster, had had large experience in public affairs. Nevertheless Mr. Sumner was a recognized orator, an accomplished statesman, and, although somewhat of an idealist, he showed the qualities necessary to discuss constitutional questions from the highest standpoint. Ballot after ballot, and innumerable consultations were held. The days and the weeks went by, and there was no choice. When the members of the legislature had grown weary of voting, and there were hints among the free soil men that the case was hopeless, and Sumner was out of the question, the democrats said, that if the name of Sumner could be withdrawn and that of Wilson substituted, there should be a speedy election. Mr. Wilson declined such an offer, and insisted that not a man should think of voting for any one but Sumner. He added, that the "coalition was not formed for his personal benefit, nor for George S. Boutwell's; it was formed to give Massachusetts a state government not under the control of powerful corporations, and a senator who could wake up the echoes of freedom in the Capitol of the nation; and they must keep voting till doomsday, if need be, to accomplish this result."

On the twenty-sixth ballot, which took place on the 24th of April, one democrat changed; and Charles Sumner was elected for six years, from the 4th of March following, as the successor of Mr. Webster in the Senate of the United States. The democrat, Captain Israel Haynes of Sudbury, who voted for Mr. Sumner, did so, as he affirmed, "on principle, and because he believed him to be the better man." In his letter of acceptance, Mr. Sumner thus wrote: "Acknowledging the right of my country to the service



Charles Sumner





Charles Sumner

On the 3d of April of this year, Thomas Sims, a fugitive slave, was arrested in Boston, and after a hurried and summary examination before the commissioner, George Ticknor Curtis, he was given up to his pursuers. The poor slave youth begged of his counsel one favor. "Give me a knife," said he, "and, when the commissioner declares me a slave, I will stab myself to the heart, and die before his eyes. I will not be a slave!" About midnight, the mayor of Boston, attended by his marshal, and by two or three hundred policemen, all heavily armed, placed Sims on board "The Acorn," and sent him again into bondage. "And this," exclaimed the negro, "is Massachusetts liberty!" He spoke these words on the memorable 19th of April.

In the spring of 1852, Louis Kossuth, governor of Hungary, visited Massachusetts. In April, he arrived first at Springfield, where he made a speech. After stopping for a brief season at Northampton, Worcester, and other towns on his route, he reached Boston on the 27th. On the following day he visited the State House to pay his respects to the governor, and then made short addresses both in the Senate and in the House. During his sojourn in the commonwealth, Kossuth made two eloquent speeches in Faneuil Hall, and made short excursions to the leading towns and cities in the vicinity of Boston. On the 18th of May he departed from Massachusetts, and repaired to Albany. The parting scene was no matter of mere ceremony, but showed that during his brief sojourn in the state Kossuth had won a place in the very heart of hearts of the best of her citizens.

In the autumn of this same year, Daniel Webster left Washington, and retired to Marshfield. His health was .

fast declining, and a hurried visit to his old physician in Boston brought him no relief. On the 24th of October, after having executed his will, and surrounded by his family and most intimate friends, Mr. Webster uttered those well-known words, "I still live!" and a few hours later, his spirit passed away. Such was the end of one who, if he had not lived as a conqueror, had lived as a king of men, in all that realm of intellectual power which governs the affairs of nations.

On the 15th of September, 1852, the free soil party in Massachusetts held a state convention at Lowell. Mr. Sumner was present, and spoke on the necessity of that organization. "The rising public opinion against slavery," he said, "cannot now flow in the old political channels. It is strangled, clogged, and dammed back. But, if not *through* the old parties, then *over* the old parties, this irresistible current shall find its way. It cannot be permanently stopped. If the old parties will not become its organ, they must become its victim. The party of freedom will certainly prevail. It may be by entering into, and possessing one of the old parties, filling it with our strong life, or it may be by drawing from both to itself the good and true, who are unwilling to continue members of any political combination when it ceases to represent their convictions. But in one way or the other, its ultimate triumph is sure: of this let no man doubt."

In January, 1853, John H. Clifford took his seat as governor of Massachusetts. The election, which took place in the preceding November, had resulted in no choice by the people, and the contest was therefore carried into the legislature. The General Court opened on the 5th of January, and was prorogued on the 25th of May. At this

session, four hundred and twenty-two acts and ninety-nine resolves were passed. Thirty-one new companies were incorporated for manufacturing purposes; sixteen banks were incorporated, with an aggregate capital of four million two hundred thousand dollars; also sixteen insurance companies, six savings banks, and sixteen gas-light companies.

On the 2d of February, the House of Representatives proceeded to the choice, on the part of that body, of a Senator in the Congress of the United States, to succeed the Hon. John Davis, of Worcester. Hon. Edward Everett was chosen. On the following day the Senate voted with the same result. On the 4th of March, Mr. Everett took his seat at the session specially called by President Pierce.

On the 26th of April the House voted to substitute for the report of a committee, that it was inexpedient to legislate on the subject of a ten-hour law, a bill providing that, after October 1, 1853, no person should be employed in laboring in any manufacturing or mechanical employment, by or for any company incorporated by or under the laws of the commonwealth, more than twelve hours; after April 1, 1854, more than eleven hours; and after October 1, 1854, more than ten hours,—except in running railroad trains or steamboats, in making the repairs necessary to prevent the stoppage or interruption of the ordinary running of engines, mills, machinery, railroad trains, steamboats, and mail stage coaches, or in doing labor of necessity or charity. On the 17th of May, the bill was passed to be engrossed. In the Senate, three days later, a substitute bill was reported, simply defining a day's labor as ten hours, in the absence of any special agreement, which was passed by that branch. The House refused to concur

in adopting this substitute, and, no committee of conference being appointed, the matter thus dropped.

In 1851, the General Court passed an act calling a third convention to revise the state constitution. The act was submitted to the people, and a majority voted against it. On the 7th of May, 1852, another act was passed, calling upon the people to vote upon the question of calling a constitutional convention. It, too, was submitted to the people, and a majority having voted in favor of the proposed convention, an election for delegates thereto took place in March, 1853. On the 4th of May, the convention met in the State House in Boston, and organized by choosing Nathaniel P. Banks, Jr., for president, and William S. Robinson and James T. Robinson for secretaries. The convention was composed of men of eminent ability, embracing members of all the leading professions and occupations of life.

On the 19th of May, Henry Wilson, as chairman of the committee to provide the order of business, brought forward a report of this committee in favor of making single senatorial districts on the basis of population, taking the ground that there was no reason why Lowell should be cut down in the basis because of its ten thousand women, or Boston because of its fifty thousand Irishmen and Germans. "Upon political questions," such are the words of the report, "there may be differences of opinion; but upon nineteen twentieths of the questions that come before the legislature, your women, your foreign population, and your persons who cannot vote, have a deep and abiding personal interest." Said Mr. Wilson, in the debate, "I am not one of those who expect to advocate the right of women to vote. But one thing is certain; I could not make an

argument against it, and I would like to see the man who could make such an argument. And I go farther; I believe that, upon most of the questions that concern this commonwealth and this country, they have their influence; and if they had also the right to vote, the country would be none the worse governed. The foreign population is engaged in the business affairs of life, in our churches and our schools, in the various pursuits of social life, and in everything that is consistent with the duties of citizens; and they influence the opinions of their neighbors and friends."

On the 27th of May, there was a long debate on the question of changing elections from the majority system to a plurality; and on the following day, the question of making aliens ineligible to the office of governor came up. Said Mr. Wilson, "I see no necessity of putting these words, 'citizens of the United States,' into the constitution. I am content that a citizen of Massachusetts shall be governor of Massachusetts, if the people choose to make him so. According to my understanding of the constitution, a man who is not a naturalized citizen of the State or the Union could be elected governor of this commonwealth to-day. I care nothing about the place where a man was born; I do not wish to bring the question into this discussion, and I do not like to have such words as 'foreign born' incorporated in the constitution."

On the 20th, 21st, and 22d of June, there was a long debate on the powers of the state over the militia. At this time there was a strong prejudice against the colored race, which, till now, effectually excluded them from becoming members of the independent military organizations. In opposition to conservative opinions, Mr. Sumner said, "Mas-

Massachusetts may proudly declare that, in her own volunteer military companies, marshalled under her own local laws, there shall be no distinction of color or race." Mr. Wilson, proposed a resolve, "that no distinction shall ever be made in the organization of the volunteer militia of this commonwealth on account of color or race." This proposition was warmly opposed by the democrats, and assailed as being in violation of the spirit and letter of the laws and constitution of the United States. In support of the resolution, it was truly said, "The first victim of the Boston Massacre, on the 5th of March, 1770, which made the fires of resistance burn more intensely, was a colored man. Hundreds of colored men entered the ranks, and fought bravely in the revolution. Graydon, in his Memoirs, informs us that many southern officers disliked the New England regiments because so many colored men were in their ranks. At Red Bank they received the commendation of the commander for gallant conduct. A colored battalion was organized for the defence of New Orleans; and General Jackson publicly thanked them for courage and conduct. When the country has required their blood in days of conflict and trial, they have given it freely, and we have accepted; but in times of peace, when their blood is not needed, we spurn and trample them under foot. I have no part in this great wrong to a race. Whenever and wherever we have the power to do it, I would give to all men, of every clime and race, of every creed and faith, freedom and equality before the law. My voice and my vote shall ever be given for the equality of all the children of men before the laws of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts and the United States."

On the 1st of August, the convention agreed to a form of constitution, and was dissolved, after having provided

for submitting the same to the people, and appointed a committee to meet to count the votes, and to make a return thereof to the General Court. The committee met at the time and place agreed upon, and found that the proposed constitution had been rejected.

In the state election of this year, the Hon. Emory Washburn, of Worcester, was chosen by the whigs for governor of Massachusetts. On the 4th of January, 1854, the new session of the General Court was begun; and on the 12th, the oath of office was administered to the governor elect. At this session, which was prorogued on the 29th of April, four hundred and fifty-four Acts and eighty-six Resolves were passed,—of the former, the more important being, one providing for the manner of the election of representatives in the Congress of the United States; one authorizing a loan of the state credit to the amount of two millions of dollars, to enable the Troy and Greenfield Railroad Company to construct the Hoosac Tunnel; one providing for the increase of the Massachusetts school fund, and for the disposition of its income; and one to aid in the erection of a monument, in Philadelphia, commemorative of American Independence.

On the 23d of May, Charles F. Suttle, of Virginia, presented to Edward Greely Loring, of Boston, judge of probate and commissioner, a complaint under the Fugitive Slave Law, praying for the seizure and enslavement of Anthony Burns. The warrant was issued, and on the next day Burns was arrested, under the false pretext of burglary, and confined in the Suffolk county court-house. At first, the right of counsel was denied to the prisoner; but at the remonstrance of Theodore Parker and others, counsel were assigned, and the 27th of May was appointed as

the day for the hearing. On the evening of the 26th, a great meeting was held at Faneuil Hall. During the morning and afternoon of this day some members of the Vigilance Committee—including Parker, Phillips, Higginson, Kemp, Stowell, and Dr. Howe—discussed the proposal of making a sudden attack on the court-house, and of using the Faneuil Hall crowd to this end. The plan, however, was voted down, three to one. The meeting adjourned about five o'clock, and those who were to address the audience that evening were cautioned not to permit this audience to break up for any unprepared attack on the court-house. Between the hour of adjournment and that fixed for the public meeting, however, certain members of the Vigilance Committee decided themselves to make the attack.

In the evening Faneuil Hall was filled to overflowing. Samuel G. Howe called the public meeting to order; George R. Russell presided; and speeches were made by Parker, Phillips, and others. The suppressed excitement of the audience was intense. Said Theodore Parker, "I am a clergyman, and a man of peace. I love peace. But there is a means, and there is an end. Liberty is the end; and sometimes peace is not the means toward it. There are ways of managing this matter"—the Burns affair—"without shooting anybody. Be sure that these men who have kidnapped a man in Boston are cowards, every mother's son of them, and if we stand up there resolutely, and declare that this man shall not go out of the city of Boston, *without shooting a gun*, then he won't go back. Now I am going to propose, that when you adjourn, it be to meet at Court Square to-morrow morning at nine o'clock. As many as are in favor of that motion will raise their hands." Many hands were raised, and from the audience came shouts of

"Let's go to-night. Let's pay a visit to the slave-catchers at the Revere House." The question was put, "Do you propose to go to the Revere House to-night? Then show your hands. It is not a vote. We shall meet at Court Square at nine o'clock to-morrow morning."

At this point there is a conflict of evidence. It is not possible to determine whether Parker had been informed of the new plan and waited for the signal agreed on, but thinking it was not given, concluded his speech as just quoted, or whether, knowing nothing of the proposed attack, he made it his principal aim to restrain the audience from rushing away into Court Square. There were, indeed, cries of alarm around the doors; but those on the platform, supposing them to be feints only, held the audience within the hall. Before the meeting adjourned,—quietly, of course,—Dr. Howe left the hall, and hurried to Court Square, to see whether the cries which he had heard really meant anything. Upon arriving at the court-house, he found that a small attack had been made; but the doors were closed, and the crowd dispersed. If we suppose the signal to have been given at Faneuil Hall,—which is quite improbable,—there surely would not have been time for the crowd to make its slow way to the square in season to be of any service.

Thus the affair ended. During the remainder of that night and the whole of the next day the marines and militia held the streets and guarded the court-house. The slave was handed over to his master; and on Friday, the 2d of June, he was marched through Court Street and State Street to the wharf, in the centre of a hollow square of armed ruffians, themselves guarded by companies of militia, protected by cannon. The bells of the city tolled a solemn

dirge; the streets were draped in black; and the whole scene was as awful as imagination can picture it. Those who witnessed the spectacle will never, never forget it.¹

In the spring of 1854, Stephen A. Douglas, of Illinois, proposed a bill in the United States Senate to organize the immense region, extending from the confines of Missouri, Iowa, and Minnesota, to the crest of the Rocky Mountains, and from 36° 30' north latitude to the British Possessions, into two territories, to be known as Kansas and Nebraska. This bill contained a clause repealing the Missouri Compromise, under the plea that it "was inconsistent with the principle of non-intervention by Congress with slavery in the states and territories, as recognized by the compromise measures of 1850." The people were taken by surprise; for the question, so destructive to national harmony, and which it was hoped had been settled forever, had assumed a new form. The Missouri Compromise had been deemed a sacred compact between the North and the South, and as such, for the third of a century, had received the sanction of all parties. On the 21st of February, — a day that tried men's souls, — Charles Sumner arose, almost single-handed and alone, to defend human rights, and to speak in opposition to the repeal. With regard to the future of his cause, he said, —

"I am not blind to the adverse signs; but this I see clearly: amidst all seeming discouragements, the great omens are with us. Art, literature, poetry, religion, everything which elevates man, — all are on our side. The plough, the steam engine, the railroad, the telegraph, the book, every human improvement, every generous word anywhere, every true

¹ Anthony Burns was subsequently purchased, became a preacher, and settled in Canada.

pulsation of every heart, which is not a mere muscle and nothing else, gives new encouragement to the warfare with slavery. The discussion will proceed. The devices of party can no longer stave it off. The subterfuges of the politician cannot escape it. The tricks of the office-seeker cannot dodge it. Wherever an election occurs, there this question will arise. Wherever men come together to speak of public affairs, there again will it be. No political Joshua now, with miraculous power, can stop the sun in his course through the heavens. It is even now rejoicing, like a strong man to run its race, and will yet send its beams into the most distant plantations, — ay, sir, and melt the chains of every slave."

On the night of the 25th of May, the Kansas and Nebraska bill passed Congress, and having been signed by the president, became the law of the land. "It is at once the worst and the best bill," exclaimed Mr. Sumner, before it passed, "on which Congress ever acted. It is the worst bill, inasmuch as it is a present victory of slavery. In a Christian land, and in an age of civilization, a time-honored statute of freedom is struck down; opening the way to all the countless woes and wrongs of human bondage. Among the crimes of history another is about to be recorded, which no tears can blot out, and which, in better days, will be read with universal shame. It is the best bill on which Congress ever acted; for it prepares the way for that 'all hail hereafter,' when slavery must disappear. Standing at the very grave of freedom in Kansas and Nebraska, I lift myself to the vision of that happy resurrection by which freedom will be secured hereafter, not only in these territories, but everywhere under the national government. More clearly than ever before, I now see 'the beginning of the end' of

slavery. Proudly I discern the flag of my country, as it ripples in every breeze, at last become in reality, as in name, the flag of freedom, undoubted, pure, and irresistible. Sorrowfully I bend before the wrong you are about to enact; joyfully I welcome all the promises of the future."

On the 31st of May, 1854, a state convention of the Free Soil party was held in Boston, at which a series of resolutions denunciatory of the Fugitive Slave Law and the Kansas-Nebraska Act, were passed. "The time has come," it was said, "to forget the past, obliterate the Fugitive Slave Act, and to do what we can to place the country perpetually on the side of freedom. The time has now come for the freemen of the North to form one great progressive Democratic party that shall guide the policy and control the destinies of the republic. Whether the standard bearer of that party shall be our own trusted leader of 1852, or a member of the whig or democratic party, he shall have the unwavering support of the free democracy."

Shortly afterward, a strong effort was made in Massachusetts to unite the opponents of the repeal of the Missouri prohibition, and to form a political organization that should be untrammelled by slaveholding alliances. On the 20th of July, a mass convention of the people was held at Worcester, who declared in favor of a new organization, to be called the "Republican" party. On the 7th of September, a state convention of the republican party was held at the same place. The Hon. Robert Rantoul, of Beverly, presided, and the majority of the members were Free Soilers. But few whigs and democrats were present. The convention nominated Henry Wilson as a candidate for governor, and Increase Sumner for lieutenant governor. In the course of the day, Charles Sumner, who had returned to Massachu-

setts to unite with his fellow-citizens in new vows of duty, addressed the convention.

“By the passage of the Nebraska Bill,” he said, “and the Boston kidnapping case, the tyranny of the slave power has become unmistakably manifest; while, at the same time, all compromises with slavery are happily dissolved, so that freedom now stands face to face with its foe. The pulpit, too, released from ill-omened silence, now thunders for freedom, as in the olden time. It belongs to Massachusetts — nurse of the men and principles which made the earliest Revolution — to vow herself anew to her ancient faith, as she lifts herself to the great struggle. Her place now, as of old, is in the van, at the head of the battle. But to sustain this advanced position, with proper inflexibility, three things are needed by our beloved commonwealth, in all her departments of government, — the same three things which once, in Faneuil Hall, I ventured to say, were needed by every representative of the North at Washington. The first is backbone; the second is backbone; and the third is backbone. With these, Massachusetts will be respected, and felt as a positive force in the national government; while at home, on her own soil, — free, at last, in reality as in name, — all her people, from the islands of Boston to Berkshire hills, and from the sands of Barnstable to the northern line, will unite in the cry, —

‘No slave hunt in our borders! no pirate on our strand!
No fetter in the Bay State! no slave upon her land!’”

It became every day more apparent, however, that the attempt to unite the opponents of the repeal of the Missouri prohibition into one party had signally failed in Massachusetts. The leaders of the new party resolved, therefore, to

co-operate with a secret organization that had sprung into existence a few months previous, and was rapidly increasing in numbers. When the convention of that organization assembled in October, it evinced great strength. The free-soilers and democrats that had, three years before, sent Mr. Sumner and Mr. Rantoul to the national senate, and made Mr. Boutwell governor, were in the majority. After the organization of the convention, the name of Henry Wilson was proposed as a candidate for the governorship. He declined the nomination, for the reason that he had already accepted the republican nomination. He affirmed, however, that something ought to be done to break up the whig and democratic parties of the state, and to elect a senator and representatives to Congress with no southern alliances. "To accomplish such results he was ready to make any personal sacrifice, and so was the great body of the anti-slavery men of the state. Sound policy required that the nominees of that convention for governor and lieutenant governor should be taken from the whig and democratic parties; and he appealed to his personal and political friends to cast no votes for him." The result of the fall election was a partial triumph of the policy of freedom. Seven free-soilers were sent to Congress, and with them Nathaniel P. Banks, who had been a coalition democrat; James Buffinton, Linus B. Comins, and Robert B. Hall, one of the original twelve members of the New England Anti-slavery Society. Not less than twenty thousand free-soilers in the state went into the American, or so-called "Know-Nothing" organization.

Henry J. Gardner, of Boston, was triumphantly chosen governor by the "Know-Nothings," by a majority of upward of thirty-one thousand votes. Only six whigs and one democrat were elected into the House of Representatives.

The election was a complete victory for the Know Nothing party ; and it was the more remarkable, because resulting wholly unexpectedly. The democrats were non-plussed ; while the whigs, who had assured themselves of the re-election of Mr. Washburn, as a matter of certainty, could scarcely believe what had taken place. The new legislature began its session on the 3d of January, 1855, and closed on the 21st of May. During this session of one hundred and thirty-nine days in length, four hundred and eighty-nine Acts, and eighty-nine Resolves were passed. Among the more important of these Acts was one providing for the appointment of a Board of Insurance Commissioners ; and requiring them to visit every insurance company in the state at least once in two years, and thoroughly examine their books and papers ; one prohibiting the sale of intoxicating liquors, except by authorized agents, and authorizing officers to arrest, without warrant, any person found in the act of illegally selling or distributing such liquors ; one, compelling the attendance of children at either public or private schools ; one providing for the establishment of a State Reform School for girls ; one abolishing imprisonment for debt, and providing for the punishment of fraudulent debtors, and one, protecting the rights and liberties of the people of the commonwealth, declaring every person entitled to writ of HABEAS CORPUS, except in cases specified in the Revised Statutes, and prohibiting any officer of the state or member of the volunteer militia, under penalty, from aiding in the seizure or detention of fugitive slaves.

Before the session closed, Henry Wilson was elected to the Senate of the United States, by a vote of one hundred and four majority in the House, and one majority in the Senate. On the 10th of February, 1855, he entered upon

the duties of his office at Washington, as the successor of Edward Everett. At this time the Senate was a body of great and distinguished men. To be sure, neither Webster, nor Clay, nor Calhoun, were there ; but their places were supplied by Charles Sumner, Stephen A. Douglas, John M. Clayton, Lewis Cass, William H. Seward, Hamilton Fish, Salmon P. Chase, and others. Franklin Pierce was still in the presidential chair. Jefferson Davis was in the cabinet, and the Kansas question was before the country. The whole administration, and all its ideas, sympathies, and devices were at war with the progressive spirit of the age, and was confused and overwhelmed by the exigencies of the hour.

Mr. Sumner did not identify himself with the American organization, which he characterized as a "short-lived" party. "It is proposed," he said, justly, "to attain men for their religion, and also for their birth. If this object can prevail, vain are the triumphs of civil freedom in its many hard-fought fields, vain is that religious toleration which we all profess. The fires of Smithfield, the tortures of the Inquisition, the proscriptions of non-conformists, may all be revived. It was mainly to escape these outrages, dictated by a dominant religious sect, that our country was early settled, in one place by Quakers, who set at nought all forms ; in another by Puritans, who disowned bishops ; in another by Episcopalians, who take their names from bishops ; and in yet another by Catholics, who look to the Pope as their spiritual father. Slowly among sects was evolved the great idea of the equality of all men before the law, without regard to religious belief ; nor can any party now organize a proscription merely for religious belief, without calling in question this unquestionable principle."

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Governor Gardner was re-elected in the autumn of 1855, notwithstanding that his policy had alienated many of his original supporters. The whig party had already become too much a faction, and the democrats were too few in numbers to recover from the defeat of the previous year, and were therefore powerless to offer any effective opposition. The session of the General Court for 1856 was begun on the 2d of January, and was prorogued on the 6th of June. At this session three hundred and ten Acts and one hundred and three Resolves were passed.

By the passage, in 1854, of the Kansas and Nebraska Bill, a vast extent of territory was laid open, both to free and servile labor, and immigration at once began to set in from the north and south, thus bringing freedom and slavery hand to hand and face to face. In the autumn of 1855 confusion reigned in the territory. Outrages of almost every kind were committed, and property, belonging in the most part to the free state settlers, was destroyed. In the spring of 1856, Mr. Seward presented "A bill for the admission of Kansas into the Union," on which a fierce debate ensued. In the course of the discussion Mr. Sumner made his celebrated speech, entitled "The Crime against Kansas." "The Nebraska bill," said the speaker, "was in every respect a swindle. It was a swindle by the south of the north. It was, on the part of those who had already completely enjoyed their share of the Missouri Compromise, a swindle of those whose share was yet absolutely untouched; and the plea of unconstitutionality set up — like the plea of usury after the borrowed money has been enjoyed — did not make it less a swindle. God be praised! Massachusetts, the honored commonwealth that gives me the privilege to plead for Kansas on this floor, knows her rights, and will maintain

them firmly to the end. To men on earth it belongs only to deserve success, not to secure it; and I know not how soon the efforts of Massachusetts will wear the crown of triumph. But it cannot be that she acts wrong for herself or children, when in this cause she thus encounters reproach. No; by the generous souls who were exposed at Lexington; by those who stood arrayed at Bunker Hill; by the many from her bosom, who, on all the fields of the first great struggle, lent their vigorous arms to the cause of all; by the children she has borne, whose names alone are national trophies, — is Massachusetts now vowed irrevocably to this work. What belongs to the faithful servant, she will do in all things; and Providence shall determine the result."

"Such words are damaging!" "He has the audacity of a Danton." "He must be silenced!" "Shall we challenge him?" Such were some of the remarks which now escaped from the lips of the southern chivalry. Nor were these remarks uttered without a deep, fiendish meaning. On the 22d of May, two days subsequent to the conclusion of his speech, Mr. Sumner, while seated at his desk in the senate chamber, engaged in writing, and after the Senate had adjourned, was assaulted and beaten to the floor by Preston S. Brooks, of South Carolina. The senator fell forward, bleeding and insensible, as a dead man. "Do you want the pieces of your cane, Mr. Brooks?" asked a page of the Senate. "Only the gold head," replied the ruffianly assailant. "The next time, kill him, Brooks," said his companion, who stood in the doorway with a pistol in his hand. "Come, let us go and take a drink." They did so.

Mr. Sumner, assisted by a few friends, was removed to his lodgings, where for several days he wavered between life and death. The assault of Preston S. Brooks struck

the heart of every slave, and every friend of freedom on this continent. As soon as the news reached Boston a large meeting was called in Faneuil Hall. "We must stand by him," said Governor Gardner, "who is the representative of Massachusetts, under all circumstances." "Every drop of blood," remarked Peleg W. Chandler, "shed by him in this disgraceful affair has raised up ten thousand armed men." On the 27th of May, Mr. Wilson, on the floor of the Senate, characterized the assault as "brutal, murderous, and cowardly;" and on the 21st of June, Mr. Anson Burlingame, in a manly speech in the House, said, "I denounce it in the name of the sovereignty of Massachusetts, which was stricken down by the blow; I denounce it in the name of humanity; I denounce it in the name of civilization, which it outraged; I denounce it in the name of that fair play which even bullies and prize-fighters respect. What! strike a man when he is pinioned, — when he cannot respond to a blow! Call you that chivalry! In what code of honor did you get your authority for that?" On the 3d of November, Mr. Sumner, having recovered somewhat from his injuries, arrived in Boston, and met with a reception little less than a triumph.¹

On the 4th of November occurred the eighteenth presidential election. The main question at issue was, — the extension of slavery into the territories, or its limitation to the states wherein it already existed. Within a few years, as we have already seen, political issues had somewhat changed. A party, known as the "American," had arisen in 1853, whose main principle was opposition to foreign influence, and their motto, "Americans should rule America."

¹ Brooks was sentenced to pay a fine of three hundred dollars for his brutality. He died miserably in Washington, January 27, 1857.

In the following year this party was successful in most of the state elections. Meantime arose another party, composed chiefly of whigs and democrats, who were opposed to the extension of slavery into free territory. They were known as republicans. On the other hand, the democrats were willing that slavery should go into the territories if the inhabitants thereof desired it. The latter party nominated James Buchanan, of Pennsylvania; the republicans nominated John C. Fremont, of California, and the Americans nominated ex-president Fillmore for the presidency. After a canvass of more than usual spirit, nineteen states, with one hundred and seventy-four electoral votes, went for Buchanan and Breckenridge; eleven states, with one hundred and fourteen electoral votes, for Fremont and Dayton; and one state, — Maryland, — with eight electoral votes, for Fillmore and Donaldson. Mr. Gardner was also re-elected governor of Massachusetts. The General Court assembled on the 7th of January, 1857, and rose on the 30th of May. During the session, three hundred and six Acts and one hundred and eight Resolves were passed.

On the 30th of January, Charles Sumner was unanimously re-elected to another six years' term of office. "It is not too much to say," remarked the New York Tribune, "that Mr. Sumner is at this moment the most popular man in the state, the opinions of which he so truly represents."

In the election of 1857 there were four candidates in the field for the governorship: Nathaniel P. Banks was the choice of the republicans, ex-governor Gardner was the choice of the whigs, Erasmus D. Beach was the choice of the democrats, and Caleb Swan was the candidate of a few men, who called themselves "straight republicans." Mr. Beach was the regular administration candidate. The party which

supported ex-governor Gardner was, in reality, little more than a personal faction, strengthened by no common bond and purpose. The professed object of Mr. Banks's supporters was "to unite in a single effective political organization, recognizing and recognized by similar organizations in the other states of the Union, all citizens of Massachusetts who are opposed to the policy of the present national administration, especially as regards the extension of slavery; who are opposed to the development of the doctrine, set forth by the president in his letter to the New Haven memorialists, that slavery exists everywhere in the public domain of the United States, by virtue of the constitution,—and who are opposed to the reopening of the slave trade, now loudly demanded by the southern wing of the democratic party, which thus far in the history of the country, has always obtained its demands." Furthermore, Mr. Banks invited to his support all those voters who desired to see established in the commonwealth a practical and effective system of State reform, whereby the taxes should so be reduced as to make a practical alleviation in the burden of the tax payers. Mr. Banks was elected by a plurality of upward of twenty-three thousand votes; thirty-two senators, and one hundred and sixty-three representatives, were also elected by the party to the General Court.

General Banks held his office for three years, being twice re-elected by overwhelming majorities. His administration was one of great prosperity. The manufacturing interest, so heavily oppressed by the recent financial crisis, was steadily advanced, and placed upon a more encouraging basis. The municipal charities of the commonwealth were faithfully administered, and an increased economy was maintained in the management of almshouses. The commissioners ap-

pointed by the act of 1854, to revise the General Statutes, completed their work during this administration. The statute of 1858, consolidating the courts of probate and chancery, was found to operate favorably. The report of the adjutant general represented the flourishing condition of the militia. In 1858 there were one hundred and forty-seven thousand six hundred and eighty-two men enrolled, and five thousand seven hundred and seventy-one were in active service. Said the governor, "No commonwealth has better material than our own for effective military organizations, and properly established upon the regimental basis, it would present citizen soldiers unsurpassed by any on this continent, either in regular or volunteer service. There is necessity for more clearly defined general regulations for the military forces of the state than now exist. It is proper that Massachusetts should have a military code of her own, which, while it should recognize and enforce the constitutional authority of the United States, should be also adapted to the conditions and wants of her own service, and I invite you to consider the expediency of appointing a commission of military officers for the consideration of this subject."¹

During this administration the Supreme Court entered a decision confirming the title of the commonwealth to the lands in the Back Bay, which embraced an area of one hundred acres. The same decision established, also, the prerogative title of the state to all channels and flats within its jurisdiction, below the line of private ownership. A few months later, contracts were made for filling one half the Back Bay lands. The long pending question of boundary between the Commonwealth and the State of Rhode Island, which had been a subject of controversy since the adoption

¹ Message, January 6, 1859.

of the Federal Constitution, was finally adjusted in 1860, by the adoption of a conventional line.

In his valedictory address, delivered on the 3d of January, 1861, Governor Banks alluded to one topic, which had a direct bearing on the war which was so soon to open. The legislature of 1858 had passed an "Act for the protection of personal liberty," which was intended to mitigate the harsh provisions of the Fugitive Slave Law. Judge Story had ruled that the constitution contemplated the existence of a "positive, unqualified right on the part of the owner of a slave, which no state law or regulation can in any way qualify, regulate, control, or restrain." This opinion of the Supreme Court was approved by the state legislature, and confirmed by the Supreme Judicial Court. Said Governor Banks, "It is not my purpose to defend the constitutionality of the Fugitive Slave Act. The omission of a provision for jury trial, however harsh and cruel, cannot in any event be supplied by state legislation. While I am constrained to doubt the right of this state to enact such laws, I do not admit that, in any just sense, it is a violation of the national compact. It is only when unconstitutional legislation is enforced by executive authority that it assumes that character, and no such result has occurred in this state. . . . I cannot but regard the maintenance of a statute, although it may be within the extremest limits of constitutional power, which is so unnecessary to the public service and so detrimental to the public peace, as an inexcusable public wrong. I hope by common consent it may be removed from the statute book, and such guarantees as individual freedom demands be sought in new legislation."¹

¹ These and other words embraced in Governor Banks's valedictory address were made prominent pretexts by the disunion party to justify a dissolution of the Union.

In the election of 1860 there were also four candidates. John A. Andrew, of Boston, was the candidate of the republicans; Erasmus D. Beach, of Springfield, of the Douglas wing of the democrats; Amos A. Lawrence, of Boston, of the conservatives; and Benjamin F. Butler, of Lowell, of the Breckenridge wing of the democrats. Mr. Andrew received a majority over all the opposing candidates of upward of thirty-nine thousand votes. The eight councillors elected, and all the members of Congress, were republicans. The presidential electors in favor of the election of Abraham Lincoln, of Illinois, and of Hannibal Hamlin, of Maine, for president and vice president of the United States, received about the same majority as did Mr. Andrew for governor.

Governor Andrew was inaugurated on the 5th of January, 1861. In his address he reviewed the condition of the country, and thus alluded to the position which Massachusetts and her great statesmen had always held in regard to it. "Inspired," said he, "by the same ideas and emotions which commanded the fraternization of Jackson and Webster on another great occasion of public danger, the people of Massachusetts, confiding in the patriotism of their brethren in other states, accept this issue, and respond in the words of Jackson: '*The Federal Union; it must be preserved!*' Until we complete the work of rolling back this wave of rebellion, which threatens to engulf the government, overthrow democratic institutions, subject the people to the rule of a minority, if not of mere military despotism, and in some communities to endanger the very existence of civilized society, we cannot turn aside, and we will not turn back. It is to those of our brethren in the disaffected states, whose mouths are closed by a temporary reign of terror, not less than to ourselves, that we owe this labor,

which with the help of Providence it is our duty to perform."

"I need not add," he concluded, "that whatever rights pertain to any person under the constitution of the Union are secure in Massachusetts while the Union shall endure; and whatever authority or function pertains to the federal government for the maintenance of any such right, is an authority or function which neither the government nor the people of this commonwealth can or would usurp, evade, or overthrow; and Massachusetts demands, and has a right to demand, that her sister states shall likewise respect the constitutional rights of her citizens within their limits."

It is plain that Governor Andrew believed that war between the north and south was inevitable. It is known, moreover, that on the very day of his inauguration he placed himself in confidential relations with each of the governors of the New England States, and urged them, at all possible speed, to prepare for the approaching conflict. He also advised that an inquiry should be made whether, in addition to the active volunteer militia, the dormant militia, or some considerable portion of it, should not be placed on a footing of activity. "For how otherwise," he inquired, "in the possible contingencies of the future, can we be sure that Massachusetts has taken care to preserve the manly self-reliance of the citizens, by which, alone in the long run, can the creation of standing armies be averted, and the state also be ready, without inconvenient delay, to contribute her share of force in any exigency of public danger?"

CHAPTER XXIV.

MASSACHUSETTS IN THE CIVIL WAR.

THE 4th of March, 1861, witnessed the departure of an old, and the advent of a new administration, in the midst of pending serious national calamities. On that day, Abraham Lincoln, of Illinois, was sworn in as President of the United States. Although rumors of revolt, of assassination, and of a destruction of the Capitol were rife, the solemn and impressive ceremonies were completed without disaster or crime. In his inaugural address, President Lincoln said, "In your hands, my dissatisfied fellow-countrymen, and not in mine, is the momentous issue of civil war. The government will not assail you; you can have no conflict without yourselves being the aggressors. You have no oath registered in heaven to destroy the government; while I shall have the most solemn one to 'preserve, protect, and defend it.'" The president's commencement was the omen of a successful administration.

About the middle of April, the news of the fall of Fort Sumter went like a thunderbolt through the land. The martial spirit of the people was aroused. Law, order, peace, the foundations of the republic, had been outraged; and never did British blood or Celtic ire leap quicker at an insult offered to their nation's honor, than did the American spring to redeem his flag from this deep disgrace. In view of the myriads of rebellion belching their fires



Frederick



upon the cherished institutions of the Union, the president of the United States had nothing to do but to strike in return. There was no cause, no time for deliberation. From the south to the north, from the east to the west, went the cry—to arms. Then followed a proclamation, calling forth seventy-five thousand of the militia of the several states; Congress was ordered to assemble on the 4th of July; the ports of South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Florida, Mississippi, Louisiana, Texas, Virginia, and North Carolina—the seceded states—were declared to be in a state of blockade. On the 3d of May, the president called for forty-two thousand volunteers to serve for three years, for the enlistment of eighteen thousand seamen for the naval service, and directed that the regular army should be increased by twenty-two thousand seven hundred and fourteen men. The national executive had done his duty. He had not precipitated war upon the country; war had been forced upon him. It only remained for the people to respond to his call, and by their acts show to him, and to all the world, whether or not it was easy to break in two the great American Republic.

Four facts stand out prominently in the response of Massachusetts to the proclamation of President Lincoln. First, the excellent system for the organization and discipline of the military force of the state; second, the ascertaining at headquarters of the number of officers and men who would respond to any call; third, the foresight that induced the legislature on the 3d of April to pass a bill appropriating twenty-five thousand dollars, and authorizing the adjutant general to contract for clothing and ammunition for two thousand troops; and fourth, the fact that the volunteer militia, for three months previous to the

outbreak, in anticipation of trouble in the south, wisely prepared themselves for action. The results of such proceedings only show the force of the aphorism — “In peace prepare for war.”

Governor Andrew, on the 15th of April, received a telegram from Washington, urging him to send forward at once fifteen hundred men. The drum beat of the long roll had been struck. On the morning of the 16th volunteers began to arrive in Boston. The first to reach the capital were the three companies of the eighth regiment, belonging to Marblehead, commanded by Captains Martin, Phillips, and Boardman. On the same day, the fifth regiment was ordered to report, and on the 17th, Brigadier General Benjamin F. Butler was detailed to command the troops. At six o'clock on the afternoon of the 16th, the third, fourth, and sixth regiments were ready to start. Meanwhile new companies were being raised in all parts of the state.

As if by magic, the entire character of the state was changed; from a peaceful, industrious community, it became a camp of armed men, and the hum of labor gave place to the notes of fife and drum. Amid the excitement that everywhere prevailed, every one was anxious to do something, and in some way to be useful. Hundreds of the wealthier citizens of Massachusetts pledged pecuniary aid to soldiers' families. The Boston banks offered to loan the state three million six hundred thousand dollars, without security, while other banks in the state manifested similar liberality. Gentlemen of the learned professions tendered their services, while ladies of every rank in life showed their willingness to minister to the sick and wounded men in the hospitals.

The sixth regiment—the first to reach Washington—mustered at Lowell on the 16th, left Boston on the 17th, and reached Philadelphia on the 18th of April. On the following day the regiment was attacked by a mob in Baltimore, and four men were killed, and thirty-six were wounded. The names of the former merit to be remembered: Addison O. Whitney, Luther C. Ladd, and Charles A. Taylor, of company D, Lowell, and Sumner H. Needham, of company I, Lawrence. At five o'clock the troops reached Washington, and were quartered in the senate chamber. It was the first blood shed, the first victory, and Massachusetts had the honor, as in the first revolution. Under the roof of the Capitol were sheltered the brave men who first marched to save it. When the news came that the sons of Middlesex and Essex had fought their way through, there was a shout of exultation which told that Massachusetts honored Massachusetts steel.

The third regiment, composed of companies belonging to Norfolk, Plymouth, and Bristol counties, left Boston on the 17th of April, and arrived at Fortress Monroe on the 20th. The fourth regiment, similarly composed, left Boston on the same day, and arrived at Fortress Monroe, likewise, on the 20th. The eighth regiment, made up of the men of Middlesex and Essex, left Boston on the 18th, and arrived at Philadelphia on the 19th. The fifth regiment departed on the 21st, and proceeded, by way of New York, to Annapolis, where it arrived on the morning of the 24th. Two days later, the regiment reached Washington, and was quartered in the treasury building. On the 21st of July, the fifth bore an honored part in the disastrous battle at Bull Run, exactly three months from the day the regiment left Faneuil Hall. On the 30th it returned to Boston,

having been in service three months and seven days. On the 21st of April, the eighth regiment landed at Annapolis, saved the frigate "Constitution," and on the 26th reached Washington. With regard to this regiment, the National Intelligencer observed, "We doubt whether any other single regiment in the country could furnish such a ready contingent to reconstruct a steam-engine, lay a rail track, and bend the sails of a man-of-war." On the 1st of August, the eighth, after rendering 'useful service, returned home to Boston.

The first three months' men made an honorable record. It were vain to attempt to sketch their services in these pages. Still, it cannot be forgotten that "they were the first to respond to the call of the president; the first to march through Baltimore to the defence of the Capitol; the first to shed their blood for the maintenance of our government; the first to open the new route to Washington by way of Annapolis; the first to land on the soil of Virginia, and hold possession of the most important fortress in the Union; the first to make the voyage of the Potomac, and approach the federal city by water, as they had been the first to reach it by land. Their record is one which will ever redound to the honor of Massachusetts, and will be prized among her richest historic treasures. These men have added new splendor to our revolutionary annals; and the brave sons who were shot down in the streets of Baltimore on the 19th of April, have rendered doubly sacred the day when the green sward of Lexington Common was drenched with the blood of their fathers."¹

Meantime the war was the only topic discussed at home.

¹ Adjutant General's Report, 1861.

The fireside, the public press, and the pulpit gave utterance to only one voice,—that attuned to Union and Freedom. Party spirit was soothed, political differences were forgotten, and the past was buried with the past. “Patriotic citizens!” appealed the leading democratic newspaper in New England, “choose you which you will serve, the world’s best hope,—our noble republican government,—or that bottomless pit, social anarchy. Adjourn other issues until this self-preserving issue is settled.”¹ On Sunday, the 21st of April, thousands assembled in the Boston Music Hall to listen to the burning words of Wendell Phillips. “The struggle now,” said he, “is, not of opinion, but of civilization. There can be but two things—compromise or battle. The integrity of the North scorns the first; the general forbearance of nineteen states has preceded the other. The South opened with a cannon shot, and Lincoln showed himself at the door. The war is not of aggression, but of self-defence; and Washington becomes the Thermopylæ of liberty and justice. Rather than surrender it, cover every foot of ground with a living man. Guard it with a million of men, and empty our bank vaults to pay them. Proclaim that the North is under the stars and stripes, and no man is in chains.” The whole commonwealth was alive to the necessities of the hour. New companies were constantly forming. In every town and village, old and young, rich and poor, were united with willing hands and hearts in the defence of one grand cause. The spirit of the forefathers still lingered with the sons.

On the 3d of May the president called for thirty-nine regiments of infantry and one regiment of cavalry, to serve for three years, or during the war. At this time there

¹ Boston Post, April 16, 1861.

were in Massachusetts alone upward of ten thousand men organized into companies, who had enlisted as militia. Toward the last of the month a general order was issued, fixing the quota of the state at six regiments of infantry, to be organized as prescribed by the war department. The plan for the organization was, substantially, as follows. "Each regiment was to be composed of ten companies, each company to have a captain, two lieutenants, and ninety-eight enlisted men. The field and staff officers of a regiment were to consist of a colonel, lieutenant colonel, major, adjutant, quartermaster, assistant surgeon, sergeant major, quartermaster sergeant, commissary sergeant, hospital steward, two principal musicians, and a band of twenty-four musicians."¹ This system of regimental organization was observed during the whole of the war, with the exception that an additional surgeon was allowed, and regimental bands were discontinued.

The six regiments selected to complete this requisition comprised the first, which left the state on the 15th of June, and was the first three years' regiment that reached Washington in the war; the second, which left Massachusetts on the 8th of July; the seventh, which left for Washington on the 11th of July; the ninth, which was recruited on Long Island, in Boston Harbor, and departed on the 24th of June; the tenth, which was sent forward on the 25th of July, and the eleventh, which left for Washington on the 24th of June. Meantime permission had come to send forward ten additional regiments. This caused general satisfaction, and orders were given to organize and equip them.

On the 14th of May the governor called an extra session

¹ Schouler, *Hist. of Mass. in the Civil War*, i. 169.

of the legislature. In his address he spoke of the nature of the war, recapitulated the services of the Massachusetts troops, recounted the expenses which had been incurred, and briefly alluded to the present condition of the state. Up to this time one hundred and twenty-nine new companies had been organized. He thought that there was need for a state camp for military instruction, but which encampment "should be confined to those enlisting themselves for an extended term of actual service." The governor's recommendations were approved almost unanimously by the legislature.

The idea of a state camp was subsequently abandoned, for after the six regiments first called for by the secretary of war had left the state, and ten more had been accepted, there was a constant demand, until the close of the war, for all the troops that could be raised. Instead of a state camp, however, several temporary camps were formed in different parts of the state; such were "Camp Cameron," in North Cambridge, "Camp Andrew," in West Roxbury, "Camp Old Colony," near Taunton, and others.

When leave was given to send forward ten more regiments, in addition to those demanded in the first requisition of the secretary of war, measures were taken to consolidate the companies in different parts of the state into regiments. The first of these was the twelfth regiment, familiarly known as the Webster regiment, which was recruited at Fort Warren, and left Boston on the 23d of July. The thirteenth regiment, of which the fourth battalion of rifles formed the nucleus, was recruited at Fort Independence, and, under the command of Colonel Samuel H. Leonard, left the state on the 30th of July. The fourteenth regiment was recruited at Fort Warren by Colonel

William B. Greene, and left Boston on the 7th of August. This regiment was afterward changed, and during the war was known as the first regiment Massachusetts heavy artillery. The fifteenth regiment was recruited in the county of Worcester, and under the command of Colonel Charles Devens, Jr., left the state on the 8th of August. The sixteenth regiment was organized in Middlesex county, and under the command of Colonel Powell T. Wyman, departed for the front on the 17th of August.

The seventeenth regiment was recruited at "Camp Schouler," Lynnfield, and under the command of Colonel Thomas J. C. Amory, departed for the front on the 23d of August. The eighteenth regiment, recruited at Readville, was composed of men from Norfolk, Bristol, and Plymouth counties. James Barnes, of Springfield, was commissioned colonel, and the regiment left for Washington on the 24th of August. The nineteenth regiment, composed of Essex county men, was recruited at Lynnfield, and under the command of Colonel Edward W. Hinks, left for Washington on the 28th of August. The twentieth regiment was recruited at Readville, and under the command of Colonel William R. Lee, of Roxbury, left for Washington on the 4th of September. This was one of the marked regiments of the state. The twenty-first regiment was recruited at Worcester; Augustus Morse, of Leominster, was commissioned colonel, and the regiment left for Annapolis on the 22d of August. The twenty-second regiment was recruited by Senator Wilson, and organized at Lynnfield, and left for Washington on the 8th of October. The twenty-third regiment was recruited at Lynnfield, and under the command of Colonel John Kurtz, of Boston, left for Annapolis on the 11th of November. The twenty-fourth regiment was recruited by Colonel

Thomas G. Stevenson, at Readville, and left for Annapolis on the 9th of December. The twenty-fifth regiment was raised in Worcester county, and commanded by Colonel Edward Upton, of Fitchburg, left for Annapolis on the 31st of October. The twenty-sixth regiment was recruited at Lowell, and was attached to Major General Butler's division, designed to attack New Orleans. Many men in this regiment belonged formerly to the sixth in the three months' service. Commanded by Colonel Edward F. Jones, of Pepperell, the regiment left for Ship Island, Mississippi, on the 21st of November. The twenty-seventh regiment was recruited at Springfield, and under the command of Colonel Horace C. Lee, left for Annapolis on the 2d of November. The twenty-eighth regiment was recruited at Cambridge; its officers and men were mostly of Irish birth, and the regiment did not quit the state until January, 1862. The twenty-ninth regiment was composed of seven companies, originally raised as militia in the three months' service, and of three new companies. Ebenezer W. Peirce, of Freetown, was commissioned colonel.

Besides these regiments of infantry, a battalion of infantry for three years' service was organized, and sent to Fort Warren for garrison duty. Two companies of sharpshooters were also recruited, in which were many of the best marksmen of the commonwealth. The first regiment of cavalry, commanded by Colonel Robert Williams, left for the seat of war in December. The first light battery was recruited at Cambridge by Captain Josiah Porter, and left for Washington on the 3d of October. The second battery, recruited at Quincy, by Captain Ormond F. Nims, left for Washington on the 8th of August. The third battery, recruited at Lynnfield, by Captain Dexter H. Follett, left the

state on the 7th of October. The fourth battery was recruited at Lowell, by Captain Charles H. Manning, of Salem, and left Boston for Louisiana on the 21st of November. The fifth battery was recruited at Lynnfield and at Readville, by Captain Max. Eppendorff, of New Bedford, and left for Washington, with orders to report to Major General McClellan.

The foregoing regiments and batteries of three years' volunteers comprised twenty-seven thousand officers and men, and were organized, equipped, and sent to the front, all within six months. Including the three months' men, the number of soldiers supplied by Massachusetts from the 16th day of April to the 31st day of December, was thirty thousand seven hundred and thirty-six officers and men. This number excludes the six companies raised in Cambridge, Cambridgeport, Newburyport, Milford, Lawrence, and Boston, which joined, in New York, what was called the Mozart Regiment, and Sickles's Brigade; and also the two regiments recruited by General Butler at Lowell and Pittsfield, and which were originally known as the Western Bay State and the Eastern Bay State regiments; also the three hundred men, known as the Union Coast Guard, commanded by Colonel Wardrop, of the third Massachusetts regiment.

On the 21st of October was fought the battle of Ball's Bluff. In this engagement, the fifteenth and twentieth Massachusetts regiments played a prominent part, and suffered severely, especially the latter regiment. The news of the disastrous defeat carried sorrow into very many families of the state, and its effect upon the country was equally depressing. At this trying hour, Governor Andrew wrote, "Every drop of blood shed by our braves will be

avenged, not by the cruelty of savage warriors, but by the stern resolve of Christians, patriots, and philanthropists, who soon will understand the barbarism of our foes, and will know what price to ask for the lives of those who fall."

In the last month of this memorable year, the legislature of Maryland addressed a letter to the governor of Massachusetts, which is worthy of being here inserted. "The Committee on Militia have instructed me, as their chairman, to carry out an order passed by the House, a few days since, and referred to them, to confer with you, and learn the condition of the widows and orphans, or any dependents on those patriots who were so brutally murdered in the riot of the 19th of April. In obedience to that order, it gives me great pleasure to state that the loyal people of Maryland, and especially of the city of Baltimore, after long suffering, are at length able, through a Union legislature, to put themselves in a proper relation to the government and the country. In effecting the latter, they feel their first duty is to Massachusetts. They are anxious to wipe out the foul blot of the Baltimore riot, as far as it can be wiped out, and as soon as possible." In reply, the governor promised to institute inquiries in a proper manner, and added, "The past cannot be forgotten; but it can be, and will be, forgiven; and, in the good providence of God, I believe that the day is not distant when the blood that was shed at Baltimore by those martyrs to a cause as holy as any for which sword was ever drawn, shall be known to have cemented, in an eternal union of sympathy, affection, and nationality, the sister states of Maryland and Massachusetts." The legislature of Maryland appropriated seven thousand dollars,

and transmitted this amount to the governor of Massachusetts, who caused it to be distributed to the families of those who fell, and to the wounded who survived, on the lamentable 19th of April.

The annual election was held on Tuesday, the 5th of November. Governor Andrew was re-elected; the legislature was largely republican, and unanimous for a vigorous prosecution of the war. The legislature met on the 1st of January, 1862. In his address, the governor "made a broad survey of the military field of observation and the part which Massachusetts had taken in the war during the year preceding. The amount of money expended by the state for war purposes was three million three hundred eighty-four thousand six hundred and forty-nine dollars and eighty-eight cents, of which there had been reimbursed by the United States the sum of nine hundred eighty-seven thousand two hundred and sixty-three dollars and fifty-four cents, leaving an unpaid balance of about two million five hundred thousand dollars. This was exclusive of the amount paid by the several cities and towns of the commonwealth for the support of the families of soldiers under the act passed at the extra session of 1861, which amounted, in the aggregate, to about two hundred and fifty thousand dollars, which was to be reimbursed from the treasury of the state, and raised by direct taxation upon the property in the commonwealth. Upwards of half a million of dollars had been expended in the purchase of Enfield rifles, and about twenty-four thousand dollars for English infantry equipments. Five thousand more Enfield rifles had been contracted for in England; but the English government had placed an interdict against the export of arms and munitions of war to this country, which prevented, for a time, the completion of the

contract. The governor also referred at considerable length to the coast defences of Massachusetts, and the exertions which he had made to have them placed in proper condition."¹

In the first six months of this year, four thousand five hundred and eighty-seven men were recruited, and sent to the front; also a company of light artillery, known as Cook's Battery, three companies of unattached cavalry, three companies of infantry, to complete the organization of the twenty-ninth regiment; the twenty-eighth regiment, which left for South Carolina on the 8th of January; the sixth battery, which sailed for the Department of the Gulf on the 7th of February; the thirty-first regiment, which sailed for Fortress Monroe on the 21st of February, and from thence to Ship Island, Department of the Gulf; seven companies, comprising the Fort Warren battalion, and afterward known as the thirty-second regiment, which left for the Army of the Potomac on the 26th of May; two companies for the fourteenth regiment, subsequently changed to the first Massachusetts heavy artillery, which departed for Virginia on the 1st of March. Other single companies were mustered into service before midsummer.

In the spring, the position of the Massachusetts regiments and batteries was as follows: The first, seventh, ninth, tenth, eleventh, fifteenth, sixteenth, eighteenth, nineteenth, twentieth, twenty-second, twenty-ninth, and thirty-second regiments of infantry, the first, third, and fifth batteries, and the two companies of sharpshooters, were in the Army of the Potomac; the second, twelfth, and thirteenth regiments of infantry were in the Army of Virginia, in the upper waters of the Potomac; the seventeenth, twenty-

¹ Schouler, i. 236.

first, twenty-third, twenty-fourth, twenty-fifth, and twenty-seventh regiments of infantry, were in General Burnside's army, in North Carolina; the twenty-sixth, thirtieth, and thirty-first regiments of infantry, three unattached companies of cavalry, the second and sixth companies of light artillery, were in the Department of the Gulf, in Louisiana; the twenty-eighth regiment of infantry and the first regiment of cavalry were in the Army of the South, in South Carolina; the first regiment of heavy artillery was stationed in forts near Washington, on the Virginia side of the Potomac; the eleventh light artillery was stationed at Fortress Monroe; and the eighth, or Cook's, near Washington. Thus, at the beginning of one of the most eventful years in the history of the war, the soldiers of Massachusetts were stationed in array of battle—from the valley of the Shenandoah to the lowlands of Louisiana. In 1861 they were the first to reach the capital, and to plant the Union colors upon the soil of Virginia. In 1862 they were the first to land in North Carolina, and to carry the flag into the far-off plains of Mississippi and Louisiana. Before the close of this year, they were also the first to land on the soil of Texas, and to take possession of Galveston.

In July, 1862, the president issued a call for three hundred thousand men, to serve for three years, or to the end of the war. A few days later the governor called "for fifteen thousand volunteers, to form new regiments, and to fill the ranks of those of this commonwealth now at the seat of war." At this time, the thirty-second, thirty-third, thirty-fourth, and thirty-fifth regiments were being recruited in the state. The Army of the Potomac was falling back on the James River; Banks's command held the upper waters

of the Potomac; Burnside's army was in North Carolina; Butler's command occupied New Orleans, and other important posts in Louisiana. Except before Richmond, success had crowned the Union arms, and never was the war spirit more determined and buoyant, and never was recruiting more active.

Within two months from the day when the call for fifteen thousand volunteers was issued, upward of four thousand men had been recruited for the old regiments at the seat of war, and sent forward. Nine new regiments—from the thirty-sixth to the forty-fourth—and two new batteries, the ninth and tenth, were recruited and organized within the same period. Within three months from the issuing of the order Massachusetts had furnished her contingent of fifteen thousand men, to whom, it ought to be said, not a dollar of bounty was paid by the commonwealth. On the 4th of August the president called for three hundred thousand more, to serve for nine months. The proportion assigned to Massachusetts was nineteen thousand and ninety men, who were to be raised by "draft, in accordance with orders from the war department, and the laws of the several states." Massachusetts furnished her contingent within a reasonable time by voluntary enlistments, and thus a draft was avoided.

On the 15th of September was fought the great battle of Antietam, in which the great majority of the Massachusetts regiments and batteries were engaged. The fatality which attended both rank and file was terrible. The result of the contest was a victory for the Army of the Potomac over the army of General Lee. Dr. Hitchcock, of Fitchburg, was requested by Governor Andrew to obtain from General McClellan the transfer of the Massachusetts

soldiers to the state hospital for treatment. "The consent of the secretary of war," says Dr. Hitchcock, "and the willing word, but non-action, of General McClellan, failed in the fullest sense to realize the urgent request of Governor Andrew in reference to our men. Many of our soldiers were, however, brought home from that bloody field, and tenderly cared for in the hospitals of the state and at the homes of the men." In the fall election of this year, Governor Andrew was re-chosen by a very large majority.

At length the quota of the state was filled. In less than five months upward of thirty-three thousand men had been recruited, and sent to the war. The nine months' regiments departed as follows: The third regiment sailed for North Carolina, under Colonel Silas P. Richmond, on the 3d of October; the fourth regiment, under Colonel Henry Walker, left on the 17th of December to join General Banks at New Orleans; the fifth regiment, under Colonel George H. Peirson, sailed for North Carolina about the same time; the sixth regiment, under Colonel Albert S. Follansbee, left for Washington on the 1st of September; the eighth regiment, under Colonel Frederick J. Coffin, sailed on the 7th of November for Newbern, North Carolina. All of the preceding regiments had served in the three months' term in the beginning of the war. The forty-second regiment, under Colonel Isaac S. Burrill, left on the 19th of November for New Orleans; the forty-third regiment, under Colonel Charles L. Holbrook, on the 24th of October sailed for North Carolina; the forty-fourth regiment, under Colonel Francis L. Lee, sailed on the 22d of October for North Carolina; the forty-fifth regiment, under Colonel Charles R. Codman, sailed on the 24th of

October for North Carolina ; the forty-sixth regiment, under Colonel George Bowler, also sailed for North Carolina ; the forty-seventh regiment, under Colonel Lucius B. Marsh, left on the 29th of November, to report to General Banks at New Orleans ; the forty-eighth regiment, under Colonel Eben F. Stowe, left in December for the Department of the Gulf ; the forty-ninth regiment, under Colonel William F. Bartlett, left on the 21st of November for New Orleans ; the fiftieth regiment, under Colonel Carlos P. Messer, sailed on the 19th of November, with orders to report to General Banks ; the fifty-first regiment, under Colonel Augustus B. R. Sprague, left on the 11th of November for North Carolina ; the fifty-second regiment, under Colonel Henry A. Greenleaf, sailed on the 19th of November, to report to General Banks at New Orleans ; the fifty-third regiment, under Colonel John W. Kimball, sailed on the 18th of November for New Orleans. The eleventh light battery, under command of Captain Edward J. Jones, left on the 3d of October, to report to the Adjutant General at Washington. This was the only nine months' battery raised in the state.

At the close of the year 1862, Massachusetts had in active service fifty-three regiments of infantry, one regiment and three unattached companies of cavalry, twelve companies of light artillery, two companies of sharpshooters, and three companies of heavy artillery. The number of three years' volunteers who had entered the service from Massachusetts from the beginning of the war to December 31, 1862, was forty-six thousand nine hundred and twenty ; number of nine months' men, nineteen thousand and eighty ; number of three months' men, three thousand seven hundred and thirty-six, — making a total of sixty-

nine thousand seven hundred and thirty-six men. Within the same period of time, the state also furnished thirteen thousand six hundred and eighteen men for the navy.

The civil war had now lasted two years, without any very decisive results. On the 22d of September the president had issued the proclamation of freedom to the enslaved, and before the close of the year 1863, what had been prophesied by earnest men became a truth — “Africa was carried into the war,” the black man was made a soldier, and for the first time the flag symbolized liberty for all men. Massachusetts recruited, and sent forth to the war, two regiments of colored troops, the first that were organized in any of the loyal states.

On the 1st of January, 1863, only the Rappahannock separated the Army of the Potomac from the rebel forces. Major General Joseph Hooker had succeeded Generals McClellan and Burnside in command, and great hopes of his success were entertained. Hooker was a special favorite of Governor Andrew, and of the soldiers of Massachusetts. The governor wrote him a letter on the 26th of January, congratulating him upon his appointment, and advising him to go round and speak a few kind words to “every single regiment,—every one. Tell the boys that *all* have a country; *all* will hereafter have a history; and that a hundred years hence, the children by the firesides will be charmed by the stories their mothers will tell them of the valor and manliness of the humblest private who served well or died bravely.” The letter concludes, “I am anti-slavery; but may I say, that at first I would not allude to the proclamation. When the secretary of war shall, by general order, promulgate it, which will be done shortly, let it be read at the head of every regiment; and I would

then, by word and deed, make it as efficient and vital as the bayonet of the soldier and the voice of the commander. You can immediately and strongly commit every officer to the policy and orders of his government; and the men will easily see that while their wives give up their husbands, their fathers give up their sons, to the hazards of war, it is only the merest justice that rebel masters should yield up their slaves, and not compel them to be rebels too. You will, I know, general, pardon, and ascribe to my friendly interest and my confidence in your chivalrous character, the apparent freedom of this note and its suggestions."

Mention has just been made of the colored regiments. Authority to recruit a colored regiment in Massachusetts was received from the secretary of war by an order dated January 26, 1863. The regiment was filled to the maximum on the 14th of May, and soon afterward a second regiment was organized. These two colored regiments were designated the fifty-fourth and fifty-fifth. Robert G. Shaw, a captain in the second regiment of Massachusetts infantry, was commissioned colonel of the fifty-fourth. On the 28th of May the regiment left Boston for South Carolina, and reached Hilton Head on the 3d of June. On the 18th of July it led the advance at Fort Wagner, in which engagement Colonel Shaw was killed. The fifty-fifth regiment left Boston on the 21st of June for North Carolina.

About this time General Banks was in command of the Department of the Gulf, General Hooker, of the Army of the Potomac, and General Foster, of North Carolina. All of the nine months' regiments, except the sixth, were in the Department of the Gulf, and North Carolina. The sixth regiment was in Virginia. In July, General Banks captured Port Hudson, on the Mississippi; and on the 2d

and 3d days of the same month, the Army of the Potomac, having, by forced marches, advanced into Pennsylvania, met the rebels at Gettysburg, and gained a most important victory. On the 4th, General Grant captured Vicksburg; and thus, within four days, occurred the three most important events which had happened during the war. The enemy were discouraged, while the Union army gained fresh strength and valor. In June, General Meade superseded General Hooker in command of the Army of the Potomac.

Something must here be said relative to the services of the nine months' regiments from the time they left the state until their return. First, of the third regiment, which started on the 11th of December, 1862, from Newbern, North Carolina, on the "expedition to Goldsborough," and fought in the battles of Kinston, Whitehall, and Goldsborough. On the 6th of March, the regiment having been attached to Colonel Jourdan's brigade, joined the expedition into Jones and Onslow counties; on the 8th of April, met the enemy at Blount's Creek; and on the 16th, having joined a column under General Prince, forced the rebels to evacuate their position in front of Washington, North Carolina. On the 26th of June it was mustered out of service at Boston.

The fourth regiment reached New Orleans on the 13th of February, 1863, and departed for Baton Rouge on the 7th of March. It took part in the expedition against Port Hudson. In the latter part of April, the regiment was doing guard duty at Brashear City; remained there until the last of May, and then proceeded to Port Hudson, to help in the siege. In the assault on the 14th of June the regiment lost sixty-eight killed and wounded. After the surrender of the place, the regiment performed

garrison duty until the 4th of August. On the 24th of the same month it was mustered out, having served over eleven months at the seat of war.

The fifth regiment proceeded from Boston direct to Newbern, arriving there on the 30th of October, 1862. On the 2d of November, under command of General Foster, it marched to Williamston, and on the 14th fought the rebels, and drove them toward Kinston. On the 15th of December the regiment took part in the battle of Whitehall, and on the 21st, General Foster issued an order directing the regiment to inscribe on its banners the names of the battles of Kinston, Whitehall, and Goldsborough. From the 21st of January until the 13th of March the regiment was employed on fortifications. On the 8th of April the regiment joined an expedition to Washington, North Carolina, and was mustered out on the 2d of July, 1863.

The sixth regiment first experienced war at Suffolk, Virginia, on the 17th of September, 1862. On the 29th of the following January it met the enemy near Blackwater, and fought for two hours. On the 11th of April, Suffolk was besieged by a large force under General Longstreet, and for twenty-three days a continual skirmishing was kept up, during which the regiment was severely exposed. From the 13th of May until the 26th, the regiment saw active duty, then returned to Lowell, and was mustered out of service on the 3d of June. The second campaign of the Massachusetts sixth was as honorable and remarkable as its first.

The eighth regiment, having arrived at Newbern, was assigned to the second brigade, first division. From this time onward, until the last of March, the regiment performed garrison duty. In April, it met and engaged the enemy at Blount's Creek; during May it was encamped,

and on the 29th of July it returned to the state, and on the 7th of the month following was mustered out.

The forty-second regiment arrived at New Orleans on the 16th of December, 1862. In the Galveston expedition, Colonel Burrill, with companies D, G, and F of the regiment, were marched off prisoners of war. The prisoners were sent to Houston; on the 22d of January they were paroled and sent down to the Union lines. Meantime the seven remaining companies were attached to the second brigade, and performed valuable service. On the 21st of June the regiment moved to New Orleans; from the 14th to the 29th of July it was on picket duty, on the line of the Opelousas Railroad, and on the 20th of August it was mustered out at Readville.

The forty-third regiment reached Newbern about the 1st of November; was ordered to, and remained at Beaufort, until the 4th of March; played a prominent part in the battles of Kinston and Goldsborough, and was also under fire in the battle of Whitehall. On the 11th of April the regiment proceeded to the blockade on Palmico River. On the 7th of July some dissatisfaction arose on account of the expiration of the term of service. General Naglee issued an order, leaving it optional with the men to go to the front or to return home. All but two hundred and three officers and men voted to return. They came home only to receive a cold welcome. Those who remained proceeded to Sandy Hook, Maryland, where they did provost duty. They were mustered out in Boston on the 23d of July.

The forty-fourth regiment arrived at Newbern on the 26th of October, 1862, and on the 30th started with the brigade upon the Tarborough expedition. It was present

in the battle of Kinston and of Whitehall; also shared in the various expeditions sent out from Newbern. In April, 1863, it took part in the siege of Washington, North Carolina; did provost duty at Newbern until the 6th of June, and then, returning to Readville, was mustered out on the 18th of the same month. The forty-fifth regiment reached Newbern on the 5th of November, and was in camp until the 12th of December. Eight companies marched in the expedition to Goldsborough, and the whole regiment shared in the battles of Kinston and Whitehall. After performing other duties of importance, the regiment was mustered out at Readville on the 8th of July.

The forty-sixth regiment arrived at Newbern on the 15th of November, and remained in camp until the organization of the Goldsborough expedition, in which it took part. For a long time afterward the regiment was engaged upon fortifications. On the 21st of July the regiment was mustered out at Springfield. The forty-seventh regiment was in the Department of the Gulf. It arrived at New Orleans on the 1st of July, 1863, and during its whole term of service was engaged in the defences. On the 1st of September it was mustered out at Readville. The forty-eighth regiment arrived at New Orleans on the 1st of February, and was sent to Baton Rouge. The regiment fought valiantly in the attack on Port Hudson, and shared all the exposures and hardships of the siege. On the 13th of July it took part in the engagement at Donaldsville, and on the 3d of September, having returned home, it was mustered out of service.

The forty-ninth regiment arrived at New Orleans about the 3d of February, and was also sent to Baton Rouge. On the 21st of May it participated in the battle of Plains

Store, and later was in the front supporting batteries during the entire investment of Port Hudson. On the 21st of August the regiment reached home, and was mustered out. Its record is worthy of the revolutionary fame of Berkshire men. The fiftieth regiment arrived at New Orleans on the 27th of January, and was sent to Baton Rouge. In May it was ordered to engage in the assault on Port Hudson; it did not, however, participate in the fight. It did garrison duty within the fortifications until the 29th of July; and then, returning home, was mustered out at Wenham on the 24th of August.

The fifty-first regiment arrived at Beaufort, North Carolina, on the 30th of November, and on the 11th of December took part in the Goldsborough expedition. It met the enemy at White Oak Creek on the 17th of January, and drove them back. On the 28th of June the regiment reported to General Dix, who was about to move upon Richmond; but he ordered it back to Fortress Monroe. On the 6th of July the regiment was ordered to Maryland Heights; and on the 27th, having returned home, was mustered out of service at Worcester. The fifty-second regiment arrived at New Orleans in December, 1862, and until the following March was stationed at Baton Rouge. It took a prominent part in the Port Hudson campaign, and was mustered out of service on the 14th of August. The fifty-third arrived at New Orleans on the 30th of January; on the 6th of March was ordered to Baton Rouge, and subsequently fought bravely in the assault on Port Hudson. Of the three hundred officers and men who joined in the assault on the 13th of June, seven officers and seventy-nine men were killed and wounded. On the 2d of September the regiment was mustered out at Fitchburg.

The light battery, raised and commanded by Captain Edward J. Jones, was ordered to Washington on the 3d of October, 1862. It performed important duty at Fort Lyons, in Virginia, and in November made several reconnoissances to Gainesville, Manassas, and in the direction of Warrington. The battery continued on picket and scouting duty until the 18th of April, and was then ordered to report to Colonel Sickles, at Upton's Hill, Virginia. In May, 1863, it returned to Boston, and was mustered out of service. The following statistics will further explain the record of the nine months' regiments: Eight hundred and nineteen died from wounds received, and illness; one hundred and five were killed in battle; ten hundred and thirty-eight were discharged; thirty-eight were held prisoners of war, and seven hundred and eighty-five were branded as deserters. It ought to be said, to the honor of our people, that nearly all the desertions took place before the regiments left the state, and that very few of the men belonged to Massachusetts.

On the evening of the 14th of July, 1863, a body of rioters, hostile to the Union, and sympathizing with the rebel cause, assembled in Boston, in the neighborhood of the armory of the eleventh battery, in Cooper Street. The rioters began to attack the armory with stones and other missiles. Toward midnight, the mob increased in violence and numbers; but the soldiers, in their comparatively small room, with guns loaded, awaited the assault without trepidation. At length the mob wearied of throwing stones, and made a concerted movement to force open the doors, and to gain possession of the few pieces of cannon inside. The word was given to FIRE! Several of the rioters were killed, and many more were wounded. The one vol-

ley in Cooper Street ended the riot, although noisy demonstrations were made elsewhere.

On the 3d of September the democratic party held a state convention at Worcester. The convention was very large, and included all those who were opposed to the national administration, and the stern and unfaltering policy of Governor Andrew. Judge J. G. Abbott, one of the speakers, remarked, "Mr. Lincoln has said that silence on matters pertaining to our country, though not a crime, is an offence. I propose, for once, to be obedient to the commands of his excellency the President of the United States. I will agree to be imprisoned or banished if I do keep silence; and, if I am, I'll speak, so help me God." Dr. George B. Loring, of Salem, acknowledged himself to be a true democrat; he was for state rights, and, of course, opposed to the administration. "This administration," he said, "will pass away as the idle wind. Its name will live only in history as an administration which subverted the rights of the people, until they rose in their might and overthrew it." The speaker's prophetic vision was not very remarkable upon this occasion. In the afternoon the convention declared Henry W. Paine, of Cambridge, its nominee for governor. "I find," said Mr. Paine, in his speech accepting the nomination, "the record of the democracy has pledged that party, from its earliest existence, to the perpetuity of the Constitution, of the Union, and of the rights of the states." The resolutions passed by the convention were a general indictment against the national administration.

On the 24th of September the republican convention met at Worcester, and nominated a state ticket, with John A. Andrew at its head, with entire unanimity. The speeches

and resolutions on this occasion "breathed but one sentiment, and expressed but one purpose, which was to sustain the national and state governments, and to carry on the war with undiminished vigor until peace was conquered, and human slavery forever rooted out of the land." The election took place in November. John A. Andrew received upward of seventy thousand votes, and Henry W. Paine, upward of twenty-nine thousand votes. Governor Andrew's majority was forty-one thousand one hundred and ninety-nine, — the largest he had received in any election.

On the 17th of October the president called for three hundred thousand volunteers. The contingent of Massachusetts was fifteen thousand one hundred and twenty-six. During the year ending with December, 1863, eleven thousand five hundred and thirty-eight volunteers for three years' service were mustered in; also three thousand six hundred and eighty-six for the naval service. The total number of men furnished by the commonwealth for both arms of the service up to December 30, 1863, was one hundred and one thousand two hundred and thirty-six.

On the 1st of January, 1864, Massachusetts had in the service of the United States thirty-six regiments of infantry, three regiments of cavalry, two regiments of heavy artillery, one battalion and eight unattached companies of heavy artillery, twelve batteries of light artillery, and two companies of sharpshooters. In his address before the legislature, on the 8th of January, Governor Andrew spoke at full length of the military affairs of the commonwealth. He closed in the following words:—

"The heart swells with unwonted emotion when we remember our sons and brothers, whose constant valor has sustained on the field, during nearly three years of war,

the cause of our country, of civilization, and liberty. Our volunteers have represented Massachusetts, during the year just ended, on almost every field, and in every department of the army where our flag has been unfurled — at Chancellorsville, Gettysburg, Vicksburg, Port Hudson, and Fort Wagner; at Chickamauga, Knoxville, and Chattanooga; under Hooker, Meade, Banks, Gilmore, Rosecrans, Burnside, and Grant. In every scene of danger and of duty — along the Atlantic and the Gulf; on the Tennessee, the Cumberland, the Mississippi, and the Rio Grande; under Dupont, Dahlgren, Foote, Farragut, and Porter — the sons of Massachusetts have borne their part, and paid the debt of patriotism and valor. Ubiquitous as the stock they descend from, national in their opinions and universal in their sympathies, they have fought shoulder to shoulder with men of all nations, and of every extraction. On the ocean, on the rivers, on the land, on the heights where they thundered down from the clouds of Lookout Mountain the defiance of the skies, they have graven with their swords a record imperishable.

“The Muse herself demands the lapse of silent years to soften, by the influences of time, her too keen and poignant realization of the scenes of war, — the pathos, the heroism, the fierce joy, the grief, of battle. But, during the ages to come, she will brood over their memory; into the hearts of her consecrated priests will breathe the inspirations of lofty and undying beauty, sublimity, and truth, in all the glowing forms of speech, of literature, and plastic art. By the homely traditions of the fireside; by the headstones in the churchyard, consecrated to those whose forms repose far off in rude graves by the Rappahannock, or sleep beneath the sea, — embalmed in the memories of succeeding genera-

tions of parents and children, the heroic dead will live on in immortal youth. By their names, their character, their service, their fate, their glory, they cannot fail.

“The Edict of Nantes, maintaining the religious liberty of the Huguenots, gave lustre to the fame of Henry the Great, whose name will gild the pages of philosophic history after mankind may have forgotten the martial prowess and the white plume of Navarre. The Great Proclamation of Liberty will lift the ruler who uttered it, our nation and our age, above all vulgar destiny. The bell which rang out the Declaration of Independence, has found at last a voice articulate to ‘proclaim liberty throughout all the land, unto all the inhabitants thereof.’ It has been heard across oceans, and has modified the sentiments of cabinets and kings. The people of the Old World have heard it, and their hearts stopped to catch the last vespers of its echoes. The waiting continent has heard it, and already foresees the fulfilled prophecy, when she will sit ‘redeemed, regenerated, and disenthralled by the irresistible genius of universal emancipation.’”


During the first six months of the year the following new regiments were recruited and sent to the front. The fifty-sixth, Colonel Charles E. Griswold, left the state on the 20th of March. The fifty-seventh, Colonel William F. Bartlett, left on the 18th of April. The fifty-eighth, under command of Lieutenant Colonel John C. Whiton, left on the 28th of April. The fifty-ninth, Colonel Jacob P. Gould, left on the 26th of April. All of the foregoing regiments joined the Army of the Potomac previous to its advance toward Richmond. Two new regiments of cavalry were also organized; the fourth, Colonel Arnold A. Rand, and the fifth (colored), Colonel Henry S. Russell.

The end of the war was fast approaching. General Grant, with the rank of lieutenant general, was in command of the Union army. Already the last grand campaign had begun. The plan of the commander could not fail to insure victory in the end, and never was a plan better devised. According to this plan, the great power of the loyal states was to be concentrated in one vast movement, which was to close in, compress, and annihilate the enemy. About the middle of May, Lee and the rebel army of Virginia were driven by the Army of the Potomac within the fortifications of Richmond, to which Grant, aided by the Army of the James, now laid siege. Meantime General Sherman, having captured Atlanta, was preparing for his grand march through Georgia to the sea. It required all of Lee's strength to withstand Grant's movements, while the former could spare no force to prevent the advance of Sherman. Thus stood the contending forces on the 1st of July, 1864.

The year 1864 was the presidential year. At the republican convention, held at Baltimore in the autumn, Abraham Lincoln was nominated for re-election for president of the United States, and Andrew Johnson, of Tennessee, was nominated for vice president. The democratic convention, which met at Chicago, nominated Major General George B. McClellan for president, and George H. Pendleton, of Ohio, for vice president. The republican state convention met at Worcester on the 15th of September, and nominated Governor Andrew for re-election. The democratic state convention met in Faneuil Hall on the 21st of September, and nominated the same gentlemen for state officers who had been the candidates of the party the year before. The election took place on the second Tuesday of November, with the following result. Abraham Lin-

coln received one hundred and twenty-six thousand seven hundred and forty-two votes; George B. McClellan forty-eight thousand seven hundred and forty-five: Lincoln's majority was seventy-seven thousand nine hundred and ninety-seven. John A. Andrew received for governor one hundred and twenty-five thousand two hundred and eighty-one; Henry W. Paine, forty-nine thousand one hundred and ninety. Governor Andrew's majority was seventy-six thousand and ninety-one.

The legislature assembled at the State House, in Boston, on the 4th of January, 1865. In his inaugural address the governor said, "By the blessing of Almighty God, the people of Massachusetts witness to-day the inauguration of a new political year, under circumstances in which the victories of the past, blended with bright and well-grounded hope for the future, assure the early return of national peace, the firm establishment of liberty, and auspicate the lasting glory of the republic." In closing his address, the governor paid an eloquent tribute to the services of the soldiers who had gone forth to battle for the Union. "In the vestibule of the Capitol of the commonwealth," he said, "you pass to this hall of your deliberations beneath a hundred battle flags, war-worn, begrimed, and bloody. They are sad but proud memorials of the transcendent crime of the rebellion, the curse of slavery, the elastic energy of a free commonwealth, the glory and the grief of war. There has been no loyal army, the shout of whose victory has not drowned the dying sigh of a son of Massachusetts. There has been no victory gained which her blood has not helped to win. Since the war began, four hundred and thirty-four officers whose commissions bore our seal, or who were promoted by the president to higher than regimental



commands, have tasted death in the defence of their country's flag. The names of nine general officers, sixteen colonels, seventeen lieutenant colonels, twenty majors, six surgeons, nine assistant surgeons, two chaplains, one hundred and ten captains, and two hundred and forty-five lieutenants, illustrate their roll of honor; nor will the history be deemed complete, nor our duty done, until the fate and fame of every man, to the humblest private of them all, shall have been inscribed upon the records of this Capitol, there to remain, I trust, until the earth and sea shall give up their dead; and thus shall the Capitol itself become for every soldier-son of ours a monument. And whatever may hereafter tide, or befall me or mine, may the God of our fathers preserve our commonwealth."

Whilst these words were being uttered, the contending forces were preparing for a final struggle. The Army of the Potomac was in the trenches before Petersburg and Richmond, and General Lee held the rebel capital; Sherman was marching to the sea, and Thomas was behind his breastworks in front of Nashville. On the 3d of April Governor Andrew received the following telegram from the secretary of war: "The following telegram from the president, announcing the evacuation of Petersburg, and probably of Richmond, has just been received by this department: 'City Point, Virginia, 3d, 8.30 A. M. This morning General Grant reports Petersburg evacuated, and he is confident Richmond also is. He is pushing forward to cut off, if possible, the retreating army.' — Later. It appears by the despatch of General Weitzell, just received by the department, that our forces under his command are in Richmond, having taken it at 8.35 this morning." The governor telegraphed to Mr. Stanton: "I give you joy on these tri-

umphant victories. Our people, by a common impulse, abandoned business to-day for thanksgiving and rejoicing. The colored men, received last, got in first, and thus is the Scripture fulfilled." The last sentence in the telegram refers to the colored division in Weitzell's corps, which was said to be the first infantry to enter Richmond.

On the 16th of January Edward Everett died, in the city of Boston, after a brief illness. The departure of this most distinguished man from those well-known scenes which he had honored by his presence, caused a profound sensation in all parts of the country. The death of Mr. Everett was properly noticed, not only in the commonwealth to which he belonged, but elsewhere by the various literary, scientific, and historical associations.

Massachusetts received the tidings of the fall of Richmond, and the retreat of General Lee, with the wildest demonstrations of delight. In Boston, especially, the streets were thronged with excited people. After the first outburst of enthusiasm, a large meeting was organized in the Merchants' Exchange, which was conducted with prayer and other appropriate exercises. About one o'clock all the bells in the city were rung, and a salute was fired on the Common. There was a procession of market-men in the afternoon, and in the evening the whole city was brilliantly illuminated. In Cambridge, a large meeting was held in the evening, the bells rang, and rockets and other fireworks added to the general joy of the occasion. In Charlestown, also, and in Roxbury, the same grand display was made; and, indeed, it would be difficult to name a city, town, or village in the state to which the excitement and enthusiasm did not extend. On the 4th of April, the governor, in a special message to the Senate and House of Repre-

sentatives, announced the successes of our armies, and the certain downfall of the rebellion. Five days later General Lee surrendered the Army of Northern Virginia to General Grant, thus virtually closing the war.

Not yet had the rejoicings ceased, when the telegraph bore tidings of the greatest personal calamity that ever befell a nation. Never were the American people so put to grief as when it was made known that on Saturday, the 15th of April, Abraham Lincoln had died by the hand of an assassin. "In the midst of exultations of recent and repeated victory," said the governor, in a message to the legislature, "in the midst of the highest hopes of the most auspicious omen, in the hour of universal joy, the nation passed at once, by an inscrutable and mysterious providence, into the valley of the shadow of death. Assembled, while the cloud is yet thick upon our eyes, and the hearts of men are oppressed by a sense of a strange dismay, it has become my mournful duty to record, by formal and official announcement to the legislative department of the commonwealth, this calamitous and distressing event." Appropriate honors were paid by all departments of the government to the memory of the martyred president. The public buildings, and many of the private residences in the state, were arrayed in the emblems of mourning. Likewise the public voice gave eloquent token of the grief of the public heart.

On the 17th of June, the monument erected in Lowell in honor of the first martyrs in the rebellion was inaugurated. It was a memorable occasion. The governor and staff, the heads of departments, and members of the legislature, were present. There was a long procession, escorted by a company of cavalry and the old sixth regiment of

infantry; and the governor, from the balcony of the Merri-mack House, delivered the oration. It was described as "one of his most able efforts, in which he took a patriotic and statesman-like view of the commencement, progress, and termination of the rebellion."

On the 21st of June a meeting of citizens was held in Faneuil Hall to consider the question of the reorganization of the rebel states. Theophilus Parsons, of Cambridge, presided; and speeches were made by him, and by Richard H. Dana, Jr., Henry Ward Beecher, George B. Loring, and Senator S. C. Pomeroy, of Kansas. Letters were read from the governor, Alexander H. Bullock, of Worcester, Charles G. Loring, Alexander H. Rice, and Samuel Hooper, of Boston. There is a passage in Governor Andrew's letter, which may here be quoted: "It is not my belief," he writes, "that in any one of the seceding states the time has yet arrived when its state government can be re-established with safety. Whether the white man only votes, or whether the colored man also votes, I regard the movement at the present moment with inexpressible concern. It has taken us four years to conquer the rebels in all of them. I would not run any risk, great or small, of allowing the same class of men to beat us by an appeal to fraud. They appealed to force, and were conquered. Let us hold on to the power we now have to do right, to protect the loyal, to rebuild the state, to re-establish society, to secure the liberty of the people and the safety of the Union. Let it be used with parental kindness and in the temper of conciliation."

Commemoration Day at Cambridge, in honor of the patriot heroes of Harvard College, on the 21st of July, was one of the most memorable events in the annals of that ancient seat of learning. It was truly a reunion of the sons of

Harvard. Many of the young men present, who had graduated a few years before, bore on their shoulders the insignia of generals and colonels, while some appeared with only one arm or one leg. At eleven o'clock a procession was formed, which marched to the Unitarian Church, where the exercises began. After the services in the church, the procession proceeded to a large pavilion which had been erected in the rear of Harvard Hall, and there partook of an elegant and substantial dinner. Among those whose eloquence contributed to swell the intellectual feast, were General Barlow, General Devens, Governor Andrew, President Hill, Major General Meade, U. S. A., Ralph Waldo Emerson, Rear Admiral Davis, U. S. N., Major General Force, of Ohio, and others. Original songs and poems were furnished by Oliver Wendell Holmes, James Russell Lowell, and Mrs. Julia Ward Howe. Regarded as a whole, it was one of the most remarkable gatherings of educated and renowned citizens ever assembled on this continent.

On the 15th of September the republican state convention met at Worcester. The war being over, Governor Andrew had signified his determination not again to be a candidate for re-election, and the convention, therefore, unanimously nominated Alexander H. Bullock, of Worcester, for governor, and William Claflin, of Newton, for lieutenant governor. The democratic convention met at Worcester on the 29th of September, and nominated Darius N. Couch, of Taunton, for governor, and Thomas F. Plunkett, of Pittsfield, for lieutenant governor. The election took place on the 7th of November, and resulted in a complete triumph of the republican party.

On the 22d of December the governor received the flags of the regiments with all the honors which the cause they

symbolized, and the battle-fields over which they had waved, made proper. On that day a procession of the veteran officers and men — each command carrying its tattered flags — moved through the streets of Boston. Business was suspended, the people thronged the sidewalks, nearly every house and store displayed banners, and the air resounded with cheers, and music, and martial salutes. Upon reaching the State House, the procession halted, and the color-bearers of each command were stationed upon the steps leading to the Capitol. In a few graceful and well-chosen words, General Couch formally returned the colors of the Massachusetts volunteers to the state. The governor, in a beautiful response, received the relics in behalf of the people and the commonwealth.

No record of the part taken by Massachusetts in the civil war would be complete without some mention being made of those who, remaining at home, devoted their whole time for the comfort of the soldiers and the alleviation of their sufferings. The New England Women's Auxiliary Association was the name given to the north-eastern branch of the United States Sanitary Commission. It was organized in December, 1861, and continued its work until July, 1865. The work of this noble association was done wholly by volunteers, almost entirely ladies, who, entering into it at the earliest period, accepted the great increase of labor to the end. Neither should the grand and generous services of Mrs. Harrison Gray Otis, and of Miss Abby May pass unrecorded; nor the work of the women outside of Boston be forgotten. Without the aid of such unselfish devotion and benevolence, the rebellion could never have been subdued. Massachusetts sent one hundred and fifty-nine thousand one hundred and sixty-five of her sons to

the war; as many of her daughters proved heroines at home in the labor of well-doing.

On the 5th of January, 1866, Governor Andrew delivered his valedictory address to the legislature. He said, in closing, —

“In sympathy with the heart and hope of the nation, Massachusetts will abide by her faith. Undisturbed by the impatient, undismayed by delay, ‘with malice toward none, with charity for all, with firmness in the right, as God gives us to see the right,’ she will persevere. Impartial, democratic, constitutional liberty is invincible; the rights of human nature are sacred, maintained by confessors, and heroes, and martyrs, reposing on the sure foundation of the commandments of God.

. ‘Through plots and counterplots :
Through gain and loss; through glory and disgrace;
Along the plains where passionate discord rears
Eternal Babel, — still the holy stream
Of human happiness glides on!

.
There is One above
Sways the harmonious mystery of the world.’

“Gentlemen, for all the favors, unmerited and unmeasured, which I have enjoyed from the people of Massachusetts; from the counsellors, magistrates, officers, with whom I have been surrounded in the government, and from the members of five successive legislatures, — there is no return in my power to render, but the sincere acknowledgments of a grateful heart.”

On the 6th of January, His Excellency Alexander H. Bullock delivered his inaugural address, and Governor Andrew passed out from the portals of the Capitol a private citizen. With the end of the latter's administration closed

the drama of the civil war. His fellow-citizens knew how well he served his country, and upheld the dignity and honor of Massachusetts. Of those who exposed and sacrificed their lives in far-off states, and on distant seas, how much might be written! As has been written of them, "they did their duty, and the nation owes them a debt of gratitude which can never be repaid. The dead who are buried in Virginia, the Carolinas, or the states of the Mississippi, at Andersonville, Salisbury, at home, or wherever they may rest; the sick, maimed, and wounded who live among us, and those who escaped unharmed from a hundred battle-fields, — their families, their names, their services, their sacrifices, their patriotism, — will ever be held in grateful remembrance by a generous and enlightened people."¹

¹ Schouler, *Hist. of Mass. in the Civil War*, i. 670. General Schouler was adjutant general of the commonwealth during the war, and his work, in two volumes, is an invaluable storehouse of facts connected with our history during that period.

CHAPTER XXV.

SINCE THE WAR.

THE legislature adjourned on the 30th of May, after passing three hundred and one acts and one hundred and five resolves. During the session the General Court refused any new legislation as to liquor selling, any interference with regard to the hours of labor, any change in the rate of interest, the equalization of bounties to the soldiers of the war, the organization of a board of railway commissioners, and the prohibition of horse railway cars on Sundays. It appropriated half a million dollars to continue work on the Troy and Greenfield Railroad and the Hoosac Tunnel, and authorized the Western Railroad to increase its capital to ten millions, in order to complete its second track, pay for the Hudson River Bridge, and enlarge its stock of cars and locomotives. A new plan for the organization and maintenance of a state militia was adopted, and General Butler placed at its head.

The aggregate expenditure of Massachusetts on account of the war amounted to more than fifty millions of dollars, including that of her municipalities.

The act of 1866 for organizing the militia of the commonwealth, provides that all able-bodied men, between the ages of eighteen and forty-five, shall be enrolled in the militia. The active militia will consist of volunteers, who, in any emergency requiring the exercise of military force, will be

the first ordered to render service to the state. Of this class of troops there are to be one hundred companies of infantry, eight of cavalry, and five of light artillery ; all arms and equipments are to be provided by the state, and annual encampments are to be held for the purposes of drill.

During the early part of the year the stringent prohibitory liquor law of Massachusetts was resisted in various ways. In March, the state courts ruled that a license to sell liquors under the Act of Congress providing for internal revenue, did not give authority to any person to sell liquor in violation of the statutes of the state. The cause was then carried to Washington for review ; and the decision of the United States Supreme Court was rendered, fully sustaining the rulings of the state tribunals.

In accordance with a provision of the legislature, Governor Bullock visited and inspected the work at the Hoosac Tunnel three times in 1866. The progress in the work of the tunnel during this year was twelve hundred and forty-six feet, being four hundred and forty feet in excess of the year previous. The course of the work was much retarded by the introduction and experimental use of automatic drills in the eastern opening. By reason of constant breakage, cost of replacement, and delay of the work, these machines failed to answer their designs, and were discarded.

On the 13th of September, the republican state-convention met at Boston, and renominated Governor Bullock and his coadjutors in office. The National Union state convention, composed mainly of conservative republicans, and of persons who sympathized with the political views of President Johnson, met at Boston, on the 3d of October, and nominated Theodore H. Sweetzer, of Lowell, for governor,

and Brigadier General Horace C. Lee, of Springfield, for lieutenant governor. The democratic state convention met in the same place on the same day, and pledged its support to the ticket nominated by the National Union convention. In November Governor Bullock was re-elected by a majority of upward of sixty-five thousand votes. Among the republicans elected to the legislature were two colored men,—Edward G. Walker, from Charlestown, and Charles L. Mitchell, from Boston. All of the republican candidates—ten in number—were elected to Congress.

The legislature met on the 2d of January, 1867, and was prorogued on the 3d of June. Once more the liquor question was freely discussed. In 1855 a law had been passed prohibiting absolutely the sale of all intoxicating liquors, including ale, beer, and cider, to be used as beverages, and also forbidding their sale for any mechanical or medicinal purpose by any one save the agents appointed by the state. Several petitions were now sent into the legislature praying for the enactment of a judicious license law in place of the prohibitory statute then in force; on the other hand, petitions were received remonstrating against the substitution of a license law for the existing statute. The various petitions were referred to a joint special committee, which, after having granted public hearings, and considered the matter from all sides, submitted a report to the legislature, which was summed up in these three propositions:—

First: “It is not sinful nor hurtful in every case to use every kind of alcoholic liquors or beverages. It is not, therefore, wrong in every case to sell every kind of alcoholic liquors to be used as beverages. But this law prohibits every sale of every kind of alcoholic liquors, to be used as beverages.” Second: “It is the right of every citizen to

determine for himself what he will eat and drink. A law prohibiting him from drinking every kind of alcoholic liquors, universally used in all countries and ages as a beverage, is an arbitrary and unreasonable interference with his rights, and is not justified by the consideration that some men may abuse their rights, and may, therefore, need the counsel and example of good men to lead them to reform. But this law does, in theory, prohibit him from drinking every kind of alcoholic liquors, since it prohibits every sale of every kind of alcoholic liquors to be used as a beverage." Third : " Finally, if the use should be totally prohibited, because it is either sinful or hurtful in all cases, or may be in some cases, the use should be punished. But this law punishes the sale, and does not punish the use." The committee reported a bill providing for a license system to regulate the sale of intoxicating liquors. The bill was rejected, however, by the legislature, and the old law suffered to remain in full force.

The legislature of this year voted an additional grant of six hundred thousand dollars to the Troy and Greenfield Railroad and Hoosac Tunnel ; loaned the credit of the state to the extent of four millions of dollars for internal improvements ; virtually repealed the usury laws, by passing an enactment allowing a higher rate of interest than that assigned as the lawful rate ; granted an act of incorporation to the Clarke Institution for Deaf Mutes, which was organized at Northampton ; and passed an act, over the governor's veto, providing for the annexation of Roxbury to Boston, in case the people of the former city should vote in favor of the project. The vote was taken, in September, in favor of annexation ; and on the 1st of January following, the two municipalities were united.

In October was opened for the reception of pupils the Massachusetts Agricultural College, located at Amherst, the citizens of that town having pledged seventy-five thousand dollars for the benefit of the enterprise. Much was done during the year for the preservation and improvement of Boston Harbor, by way of constructing a sea wall to prevent the waste of the shores, and removing dangerous obstructions from the main ship channel.

The question of regulating the sale of liquors had a marked effect upon the political issues in the state, the support of the prohibitory policy being generally attributed to the dominant party. The republican state convention, which met at Worcester on the 12th of September, nominated for re-election the entire board of officers then in power, and adopted resolutions approving of the recent measures of Congress reprobating the policy of President Johnson, thanking "our senators and representatives in Congress for their resistance to the usurpations of the president," and expressing gratitude "to the military commanders, who have done all in their power within their commands to restore order, initiate civil governments, and secure protection to citizens of every race and party."

The democratic state convention met at Worcester on the 14th of October, and nominated John Quincy Adams for governor, and George M. Stearns for lieutenant governor. One of the resolutions adopted by the convention, declared "that from Maine to California the democracy are rising in their might to overturn and demolish the radical, destructive party, and the democrats of Massachusetts will do their part in this good work." And further, "that an increase of the state debt during the war, of forty millions of dollars, and the wasteful extravagance of the party in power, which has

added to, rather than diminished the debt, is alarming, and demands a change of administration in the state government."

The election took place in November, and resulted in the choice of the entire republican ticket,—the majority of Governor Bullock being very nearly twenty-eight thousand votes. Of the members sent to the legislature, thirty-one in the Senate and one hundred and eighty-four in the House, were pledged for license; and nine in the Senate and fifty in the House were pledged for prohibition. Six in the House were unpledged.

At the end of the year, the total funded debt of the state amounted to twenty-three million nine hundred and eighty-four thousand six hundred and forty-nine dollars and twenty-five cents, of which the payment of twenty-one millions six hundred and five thousand seven hundred and sixty dollars was secured by sinking funds, bonds, mortgages, and collaterals, leaving two millions three hundred and seventy-eight thousand eight hundred and eighty-nine dollars and twenty-five cents with no special provision for its liquidation. During the year two millions three hundred and fifty-five thousand five hundred and five dollars and ninety-six cents were raised by taxation for the support of public education. Two hundred and thirty-six thousand pupils attended the free schools, and eight thousand teachers, of whom about seven eighths were females, were employed.

The legislature of 1868 assembled on the first Wednesday in January, and was prorogued on the 12th of June. The prominent topic under consideration, during the session, was as formerly, that of regulating the sale of intoxicating liquors. Although the governor himself was opposed to a license system, he deemed it proper to inform the legislature,

at the beginning of the session, that the people had expressed themselves in favor of a change in the existing law. Accordingly a law was framed providing for the sale of liquors on licenses to be issued by county commissioners, and requiring all dealers to keep a strict account of all liquors sold by them, and to make a return thereof once in two months to the treasurer of the city or town in which their business was carried on. A tax, varying from one to two per cent. was imposed upon the value of liquors sold under license. The governor disapproved the bill, and in a message to the House thus wrote: "The fourth section of the bill throws open public bars and tippling-houses in every quarter of the state. It leads into temptation the young and the weak; it spreads a snare for the stranger and the unwary. It replaces thrift with waste; and the peace and quiet of neighborhoods with boisterous and reckless disorder. It is destructive to the influences of the family and the fireside; adverse to good morals, and repugnant to the religious sentiment of the community. To a measure like this, which, as a citizen I could not support, as the chief magistrate of the commonwealth I cannot affix my signature in approval; and declining to return it with my objections for the reasons I have given, I refer it to the judgment and the conscience of all the people of Massachusetts." The course of the governor was severely censured in the House of Representatives; but was generally approved by intelligent people throughout the state.

In 1865 a law had been passed, establishing a state police, providing "that a constable of the commonwealth should be appointed by the governor, with power to name as many deputies as the governor and council should direct." In 1867 this law had come into considerable odium; and in the

following year a bill providing for the repeal of the constabulary act passed both Houses of the General Court, but was arrested by the veto of the governor. Another bill, which was intended to supersede the constabulary law by provisions entirely different, was introduced, and met with the same fate as the preceding act. With regard to the practical working of the license law of 1868, Governor Claflin, in his first message to the legislature of 1869, said, "The increase of drunkenness and crime during the last six months, as compared with the same period in 1867, is very marked and decisive as to the operation of the law. The state prison, jails, and houses of correction are being rapidly filled, and will soon require enlarged accommodations, if the commitments continue to increase as they have done since the present law went into force."

Meantime the work on the Troy and Greenfield Railroad and the Hoosac Tunnel progressed on a scale more considerable than ever before. Before its adjournment, the legislature passed a law, authorizing the governor and council to contract for the whole work of constructing the Hoosac Tunnel, at an expense not exceeding five millions of dollars, and within a time limited to seven years. A supplemental act authorized the use of two hundred and fifty thousand dollars, to be taken from the five millions, to continue operations until the proposed contract should be made. On the 24th of December the governor and council executed a contract with Walter Shanly, of Montreal, and Francis Shanly, of Toronto, for the sum of four millions five hundred and ninety-four thousand two hundred and sixty-eight dollars, to be paid in United States treasury notes, or other current funds. The contract limited the time to March, 1874, with power on the part of the governor to grant an

extension of six months. Up to this time the cost of the railroad and tunnel amounted to more than four millions of dollars; and the entire cost of the railroad from Boston to Troy, with its immediate connections, after completion, was estimated at about sixteen millions of dollars.

During the year, the state made a conditional loan of three millions of dollars to the Boston, Hartford and Erie Railroad Company, to enable it to complete the line from Boston to Fishkill before May 27, 1872; expended one hundred and fifty thousand dollars for the protection of the harbor at Provincetown; granted upward of two millions and a half dollars for the support of common schools; and made smaller appropriations to the Museum of Comparative Zoölogy in Cambridge, to Williams College, to the State Agricultural College, to the Mount Holyoke Female College, and to the Asylum for the Blind.

The republican and democratic state conventions, assembled in September. By the former, William Claflin was nominated for governor, and Joseph Tucker for lieutenant governor; by the later, John Quincy Adams was nominated for governor. Mr. Claflin was elected by a majority of nearly sixty-nine thousand votes. Of the votes cast for presidential electors, one hundred and thirty-six thousand four hundred and seventy-seven were in favor of Grant and Colfax; and fifty-nine thousand four hundred and eight for Seymour and Blair. All of the representatives elected to Congress—ten in number—were republicans. The composition of the General Court was almost wholly republican—only two democrats being elected to the Senate, and sixteen to the House.

The legislature of 1869 assembled on the 5th of January, and was prorogued on the 25th of June. During the ses-

sion, which consumed one hundred and seventy-one days,—the fifteenth amendment to the Constitution of the United States was adopted; an ocean telegraph company was authorized; a railroad commission and a bureau of statistics were established, and about fifty corporations were chartered. The three great measures of the session were the establishment of a State Board of Health; the abolishment of the district system of public schools, and the revision of the educational system of the state; and the enactment of the prohibitory liquor law.

The new liquor law passed was, in reality, only a revival of the one previously in force. This law provided for the appointment of a commissioner by the governor, whose office was to be in Boston, and whose duty was stated to be “to analyze liquors, and sell them to the authorized agents, keep record of sales and purchases, and seal all packages of liquor.” The manufacture of liquors was authorized by county commissioners, and the law also provided for the appointment of “bonded agents by cities and towns,” and of an assayer and inspector of liquors. The complexity of this law was remarkable, and the penalties for infringement of its various details were based upon no minor scale.

By the new school law the district system was abolished, and the management of the public schools was vested directly in the towns, through the general school committee. In support of the law, it was said that “the result will be fewer schools and better. There will no longer be schools of one, two, or three scholars, as has frequently been the case in some of the sparsely populated hill-towns for the last few years. By a supplementary act, union districts and contiguous districts in different towns are also abolished, and the way of appraising the property of such dis-

tricts is prescribed. Towns shall assume all the debts of districts, and deduct their amount from the amount to be remitted to the districts."

On the 31st of January the Messrs. Shanly began work for the completion of the Hoosac Tunnel; and such was the progress made during the year, that it was predicted by sanguine observers that the mountain would be pierced, at least one year and a half earlier than the date appointed in the contract. The contractors increased their machinery, and doubled the working force.

In the year 1867 Patrick S. Gilmore, a citizen of Boston, conceived the idea of celebrating the restoration of peace by a musical festival of gigantic proportions. On the 15th of June, 1869, the idea was realized, and the "Peace Jubilee" was inaugurated. A monster wooden building, five hundred feet long and three hundred feet wide, had been erected, for the purpose of holding the audience, on the Back Bay lands in Boston. The arrangements for lighting the building were ample, over four miles of gas pipe being used, which consumed fourteen thousand cubic feet of gas per hour. The organ employed on, and expressly built for the occasion, contained ten hundred and eleven pipes; and the grand chorus comprised one hundred and eight musical societies, or ten thousand three hundred and seventy-one singers. Ten hundred and ninety-four instruments were used in the orchestra, the first violin being played by Ole Bull, and the second by Carl Rosa. In certain pieces which were performed during the festival use was made of cannons, anvils, and all the bells in the city, the last being controlled by electricity. The Peace Jubilee lasted five days. Such a musical gathering had never before been assembled on the American continent.

On the 17th of August the State Temperance convention met in Boston, and adopted twenty resolutions, of the usual style. On the 24th of August the democrats assembled at Worcester, and without advancing any new theories upon national subjects, nominated John Quincy Adams for governor, and S. O. Lamb for lieutenant governor. The republicans met at the same place, on the 22d of September, and renominated Mr. Claflin for governor, and Mr. Tucker for lieutenant governor. On the 28th of September a party was organized at Worcester, under the name of the Labor Reform, and the following ticket was put in nomination: E. M. Chamberlin, for governor, and James Chattaway, for lieutenant governor. The election in November resulted in the choice of all the republican candidates for state officers.

In his inaugural address to the legislature of 1870 Governor Claflin alluded to the unnecessary length of the sessions, which had caused so much dissatisfaction among the people. "The conviction is prevalent," he said, "that our general laws are well settled, and that the constant liability to change, incident to annual sessions, half a year in length, is very injurious to business, and wholly unnecessary. Probably a legislature sitting once in two years would meet all the real wants of the community. Now there is scarcely time to learn the results of a law, before it may be altered or repealed. The cost of yearly sessions is a circumstance not to be disregarded, the expense now reaching annually nearly four hundred thousand dollars. Half of this would be saved to our tax-payers, already too heavily burdened." Notwithstanding the wholesome advice of the executive, the General Court continued to sit through one hundred and seventy days, or until the 23d of June.

During the session the liquor question was again dis-

cussed, and the prohibitory law was amended so as to permit the sale of ale, porter, cider, lager beer and strong beer, in towns and cities authorizing the sale. Many days were also consumed in the discussion of the affairs of the Boston, Hartford, and Erie Railroad. In preceding years the corporation of this road had received from the state a subsidy amounting to five millions of dollars, which it was averred by the directors would be a sufficient sum to enable them to complete the road to Fishkill. Early in 1870 it was learned that the corporation was about to petition for further state aid ; and in anticipation of such a petition, a committee of the council was appointed to investigate the affairs of the former. The governor submitted the report of this committee to the legislature, showing conclusively, that "at the time the grant of five millions of dollars was passed, the statement of the directors that it would be sufficient to complete the road to Fishkill was correct ; but that at that very time a portion of the money was invested in the bonds and stock of the corporation, which were held in the expectation and hope of an advance in price ; that in addition to this, the directors had pledged a large amount of the bonds for advances, instead of selling them in the usual way ; that in November, 1869, many of the bonds had been sold at reduced prices to pay the advances, and the result was a larger loss to the corporation than if they had been sold in the market at the time of their issue ; that this loss, however, did not affect the state so directly as the loss arising from the speculation in the stock, which in one item alone was shown to be one million five hundred thousand dollars ; that the authority of the directors, by the act of incorporation, to take this course, was at least doubtful, and as trustees of a great corporation they certainly had no warrant for thus

employing the money placed in their hands." The governor withheld his assent for any further issue of the bonds of the state until the whole matter should have been passed upon by the legislature.

Shortly afterward a bill was introduced into the legislature for a further loan of three millions five hundred thousand dollars to the company, which was referred to the committee on finance. This committee reported adversely; but a few days before adjournment, the bill passed both houses of the General Court. It was vetoed by the governor, and then failed to pass over the veto. Circumstances which followed in rapid succession proved conclusively that the railroad corporation was hopelessly insolvent. In his message of 1871, the governor referred to these proceedings, and added: "The early completion of the road is most desirable, and no doubt the work will be resumed as soon as the courts are able to unravel its complicated affairs, and to give the rightful owners possession."

The work on the Hoosac Tunnel progressed rapidly during the year. On the 1st of January, 1870, an aggregate of eleven thousand and twenty-six feet had been completed. The depth of the central shaft was seven hundred and ninety-eight feet; and the cost of the work done up to that time was about five hundred thousand dollars. On the 1st of January, 1871, thirteen thousand six hundred and twenty-two feet had been completed,—thus showing a gain for the year of two thousand five hundred and ninety-six feet. The cost of the work done up to that time was one million two hundred and forty-eight thousand one hundred and eighty-four dollars.

In the political canvass of the year,—one of the most important in the history of the state,—four parties were in

the field. The campaign was opened by the prohibitory party, who held a convention in Boston on the 17th of August, and nominated Wendell Phillips for governor, and adopted a platform embracing twelve resolutions. This party aimed "at the extinction of the entire dram-shop system, national and state, because it is dangerous and injurious to every interest of the commonwealth;" and declared "that the abolition of slavery and the preservation of our Union having been accomplished, there is no issue now before the country equal to that of prohibition;" and earnestly invited their fellow-citizens, of all political parties, to unite with them in giving this great reform a complete victory.

A convention of the Labor Reform party met at Worcester on the 8th of September, and also nominated Wendell Phillips for governor. This party passed resolutions, demanding the enactment of a law prohibiting all incorporated and other manufacturing establishments in the commonwealth from employing females and minors more than ten hours per day; a reduction of the hours of labor to eight hours for all labor employed at the public expense by states, counties, cities, and towns, as experiments; and "the repeal of so much of the national banking law as allows banks to issue notes circulating as money, and the substitution therefor of legal tender government notes as the best and safest currency the government ever had."

The Republican state convention met at Worcester, on the 5th of October, and nominated William Claflin for governor, and Joseph Tucker for lieutenant governor. On the 12th of the same month the Democratic convention assembled at Fitchburg, and nominated John Quincy Adams for governor. Strong efforts were made to introduce resolutions

favorable to woman suffrage into the platforms of these two conventions ; but they were resisted by a large majority in each, and the proposed resolutions were rejected. The election in November resulted in the choice of the republican candidates by a large majority. The census taken in this year showed a population in Massachusetts of one million four hundred and fifty-seven thousand three hundred and fifty-one souls.

The legislature of 1871 assembled on the 4th of January, and continued in session until the 26th of May. A considerable amount of important business was transacted. The name of North Chelsea was changed to Revere ; two new towns were created, Maynard being formed from portions of Stow and Sudbury, and Ayer from portions of Groton and Shirley ; Somerville and Gloucester were incorporated as cities. The only important change made in the liquor law was one prohibiting the sale of malt liquors, unless it were permitted in the different towns by a vote of the people. As the law stood before, the sale of malt liquors was allowed, unless prohibited in the several towns by a popular vote. During the session the constabulary system was overhauled, and it was discovered that many abuses had been committed on the part of the state police. A bill was passed, providing for a board of three commissioners, who were made responsible for the acts of the chief of the constabulary force. Among the appropriations made, was a grant of fifty thousand dollars to the Museum of Comparative Zoölogy in Cambridge, and one of sixty thousand dollars for a new normal school at Worcester.

In the autumn, the political canvass was unusually brisk, owing to the fact that several persons, each of whom had a strong following in the republican party, aspired to the office

of governor. Foremost among these men stood General Benjamin F. Butler, of Lowell, who early announced himself as a competitor for the honor, and left neither art nor skill untried in order to secure the position of chief magistrate of the commonwealth. In the number of other aspirants stood Alexander H. Rice, of Boston, George B. Loring, of Salem, Harvey Jewell, of Boston, and William B. Washburn, of Greenfield. Messrs. Jewell, Loring, and Rice withdrew their names before the day of the convention, which met at Springfield, on the 27th of September. After a warm debate, the opponents of General Butler united on the name of Mr. Washburn, and nominated him by a vote of six hundred and forty-three out of a total of eleven hundred and sixteen. Joseph Tucker was nominated for lieutenant governor.

The Democratic convention assembled at Springfield on the 14th of September and nominated John Quincy Adams for governor, and Samuel O. Lamb for lieutenant governor. It expressed its abhorrence of the dominant party in the following resolution: "That in the language adopted by the last Democratic state convention, 'the labor of the country, weak by its necessities in its defences against the cupidity of capitalists and in its ability to compel a recognition of its just rights, especially needs the protection of just, equal, and adequate laws;' and 'the present high cost of living, and consequent inadequacy of wages to provide sufficient means of support for our poor people, are mainly due to the unjust currency system, the arbitrary and excessive taxation, and the great monopolies which have been inflicted upon us by the republican party!'" The convention also passed a resolution condemning the prohibitory law "as an odious interference with personal liberty, the

prolific parent of hypocrisy, corruption, and crime, as an affront to public decency in the surrender of all attempt to enforce the law upon wealth or political influence, and with its attendant satellite, the state constabulary, an invasion of municipal rights, and a degradation of the ordinary and appropriate means for the enforcement of the laws."

The advocates of labor reform assembled at South Framingham on the 4th of October, and after adopting a platform, nominated E. M. Chamberlin, of Boston, for governor. On the same day the prohibitionists assembled at Boston, and nominated Judge Robert C. Pitman, of New Bedford, for governor. The platform was similar in tone to that adopted by the party in the preceding year, with one noticeable additional clause, as follows: "Since woman is the greatest sufferer by the prevalence of drinking, she should be the greatest helper in its extirpation. We, therefore, ask her to employ every right she now possesses, and may possess, to assist in this reform, being assured that only by her assistance can we entirely abolish this crime against society, humanity, and God." The election took place on the 8th of November, and resulted in the choice of the republican ticket — Mr. Washburn's majority over all competitors being upward of thirteen thousand votes.

The subject which occupied the largest share of the attention of the new legislature, which assembled on the 3d of January, 1872, was the charter of the Highland Street Railway Company in Boston, which, after much discussion, was passed. Two new towns were formed — Norwood, which was taken from Dedham, and Holbrook, which was taken from Randolph. Fitchburg was incorporated as a city. The legislature also increased the salaries of the judges of the Supreme Court, of district attorneys, and,

in several instances, of police justices; dissolved insolvent corporations, abolished the head-money which immigrants had been obliged to pay, changed the time of elections in cities from Monday to Tuesday, united Haverhill and Bradford under one municipality, reformed the alms-house system, established the office of inspector of provisions, and made it illegal for city officials to make or have a pecuniary interest in contracts with their own city.

The political campaign of the year was not so exciting in Massachusetts as in many other states, notwithstanding that it was the presidential year. On the 31st of January the supporters of female suffrage met in Boston, and declared, "that, as negro suffrage was a political necessity in 1870, so is woman suffrage a moral necessity in 1872." The convention adopted the following, among other resolutions: "That we call upon our legislature to enact a law conferring suffrage upon women in presidential and municipal elections; also, to submit an amendment to the state constitution, abolishing political distinctions on account of sex. That, so long as one half of our citizens are taxed and governed without consent, every voter is in honor bound to help elect the friends, and defeat the enemies, of impartial suffrage, and to make the enfranchisement of women the cardinal principle of his political action."

The republican convention for the appointment of delegates to the national nominating body, met at Worcester on the 10th of April, and while recommending the renomination of General Grant for the presidency, it urged also the nomination of Henry Wilson for the vice presidency, "feeling that Massachusetts has earned this distinction by long fidelity to the republican principles, in which Henry Wilson has always been true to her honor and to the best

sentiments of her people." At a convention of the party held later in the season, Mr. Washburn was renominated for governor, and Thomas Talbot, of Billerica, for lieutenant governor.

Conventions of the democrats and liberal republicans were held at Worcester on the 11th of September. After declaring its conviction that "the platform adopted by the Cincinnati and Baltimore conventions" was "thoroughly republican, democratic, and patriotic," and that the dominant party had violated its pledge, and "introduced into the administration the ideas and practice of personal government to an extent without precedent in the history of the country," the convention cordially indorsed Horace Greeley and B. Gratz Brown "as eminently fit for the posts assigned them by the two great national conventions." Charles Sumner was nominated for governor, and George W. Stearns, of Chicopee, for lieutenant governor. The following resolution, ratifying the ticket, was adopted: "That we commend the candidates presented by the concurrent action of the two conventions this day to the suffrages of the honest voters of the commonwealth, and their triumphant election will insure a discontinuance of the trifling legislation and corrupt practices which have made odious the existing administration." Mr. Sumner subsequently refused to stand as a candidate for governor, and the name of F. W. Bird, of Walpole, was substituted on the ticket by the state central committees.

The election took place on the 4th of November. Of the votes cast for presidential electors, one hundred and fifty-five thousand four hundred and seventy-two were in favor of Grant and Wilson, and fifty-nine thousand two hundred and sixty were in favor of Greeley and Brown.

Governor Washburn was re-elected by a majority of upward of seventy-four thousand votes. The entire republican state ticket, and a full republican delegation to Congress from the eleven districts were also chosen.

On the 17th of June of this year the "World's Peace Jubilee and International Musical Festival" commenced in Boston, and continued until the 4th of July. Patrick S. Gilmore was the projector and director of this grand affair. A large building, known as the "Coliseum," five hundred and fifty feet long and three hundred and fifty feet wide, was erected for the purpose. The chorus numbered twenty thousand singers, and the orchestra one thousand instruments. Besides home organizations, the participation of several foreign associations was secured, prominent among which was the Grenadier Guards band from London, the Garde Republicaine band from Paris, the Kaiser Franz Grenadier Regiment band from Berlin, and the Emperor of Germany's Cornet Quartet. Herr Johann Strauss, of Vienna, the distinguished leader and composer, and Franz Abt, the great German song-writer, were present during the festival, and took part in the exercises. Musically considered, the jubilee was a marked success; upward of one hundred thousand people came from far and near to witness the display, and returned home with the conviction that it was at least unprecedented in modern times.

On the 9th and 10th of November, the city of Boston was visited by one of the most terrible conflagrations of modern times. The fire originated about seven o'clock on the evening of the 9th, at the corner of Summer and Kingston Streets, and gained rapid headway before anything was done to check it. A brisk wind carried the flames northward nearly to State Street, through the richest busi-

ness quarter of the city, laying in ruins most of the district bounded by Summer, Washington, and State Streets and the water front. An area embracing nearly sixty-five acres was burnt over, and seven hundred and nine buildings of brick or stone, and sixty-seven of wood, together valued at upward of thirteen million and a half dollars, were consumed. The amount of personal property destroyed was about sixty millions of dollars.

An extra session of the legislature was held on the 19th of November, for the purpose of devising means for the relief of Boston. Several insurance companies were rendered bankrupt by the fire, and a demand was made for new charters, or for a general insurance law. An insurance act, authorizing any ten or more residents of the state to associate themselves together for the purpose of carrying on the business of fire or marine insurance with an amount of capital of not less than two hundred thousand dollars, passed both houses of the legislature. This act contained several important conditions and restrictions framed for the better protection of policy holders. Another act of the legislature authorized the city of Boston to issue bonds to the extent of twenty millions of dollars, to aid the owners of land in the burnt district to restore their buildings within one year from the 1st of January, 1873. Matters of minor importance were also disposed of, and the extra session of the legislature ended on the 18th of December.

The financial condition of the state at the close of the year was in every way satisfactory. At the beginning of the year the funded debt amounted to more than twenty-nine millions and a half, and on the 1st of January, 1873, this had been reduced to twenty-six millions and a half,

plus the one million dollars added during the year on account of the Troy and Greenfield Railroad and Hoosac Tunnel loan. There were in the treasury at the close of the year about six hundred thousand dollars, and there remained no funded liabilities for the payment of which the state had not provided a sinking fund. On the 12th of December the Hoosac Tunnel was opened from the eastern portal to the central shaft. There still remained at that time three thousand feet of rock to penetrate between the shaft and the western portal, and the contractors were as confident as ever that they would be able to complete the work by the 1st of January, 1874.

The session of the legislature which began in January, 1873, and closed on the 12th of June, was surpassed in duration only by those of 1869 and 1870. Early in the session, George S. Boutwell, who, by a coalition in 1851 of democrats and free soilers, had been chosen governor of the commonwealth, was elected as United States senator, to fill the vacancy occasioned by the election of Henry Wilson to the vice presidency.

Among the important acts of the session was one authorizing the governor and council to expend two hundred thousand dollars in completing the Hoosac Tunnel and its approaches, and also prohibiting the consolidation of the Lowell and Fitchburg Railroads; an act doing away with the power of cities and towns to legalize the sale of malt liquors, and acts providing for the erection of a new state prison, and an insane asylum for the eastern portion of the state. With regard to the new liquor act, it was said, "It brings the prohibitory law back to where it was in 1867, the only drawback, in the opinion of the friends of the statute, being the still existing provision





Henry Wilson

Engraved by H. Mitchell



Henry Wilson

that apothecaries may sell. A bill to do away with this failed by a small majority in a thin house, and there was no attempt to reconsider; from which it is inferred that an impression prevailed that the matter had been pushed far enough for this year." An important change was made in the criminal code, to the effect that, when a person indicted for murder or manslaughter is acquitted on the ground of insanity, the court shall order such person to one of the state lunatic asylums for life; and he may be discharged from such custody only by the governor and council, when the former is satisfied, upon a careful hearing of the matter, that it may be done without injury to others.

Notwithstanding the unusual monetary and commercial depression of the year, Massachusetts successfully maintained her financial credit and prosperity. The funded debt of the state did not exceed twenty-eight millions and a half, and, with few exceptions, the state had no debt whose liquidation was not contemplated by established sinking funds, and their large and increasing accumulations. The increase in the valuation of real and personal estate in 1873, amounted to nearly sixty-seven millions of dollars over that of the preceding year. The various educational, charitable, reformatory, and penal institutions of the state continued in a prosperous condition. During the year the new Normal School at Worcester was completed, the Agricultural College was established on a firmer basis, and the Technical Institutes were crowded with pupils.

A site in the western part of the town of Concord, embracing nearly one hundred acres, was selected and approved by the executive council for the new state prison; and a portion of land, embracing about two hundred acres,

lying five miles from Salem, was chosen as the site for the new hospital for the insane.

One of the most important events in the history of Boston during the year was the election, held on the 7th of October, which determined the annexation to Boston of Charlestown, Brighton, and West Roxbury, to take effect on the 1st of January following. The original limits of Boston embraced six hundred and ninety acres. By the filling in of surrounding flats, and the addition of South and East Boston, seventeen hundred acres were acquired; by the annexation of Roxbury, twenty-one hundred acres; by the annexation of Dorchester, forty-eight hundred acres; and by filling flats in other places, eight hundred and eighty acres. Previous to the annexation of 1873, Boston thus embraced ten thousand one hundred and seventy acres. By the addition of Charlestown, Brighton, and West Roxbury the area of the city was increased to nineteen thousand one hundred acres, and the total valuation to seven hundred and sixty-five millions four hundred and seventy thousand six hundred and fifty-one dollars. The rebuilding of the burned district during the year was rapidly conducted, and several very important and advantageous changes were made in the laying out of the streets and squares.

On the 3d of September the democratic state convention assembled at Worcester, and after adopting resolutions denouncing the length of the legislative sessions, and the corrupt execution of the liquor law, nominated William Gaston, the mayor of Boston, for governor, and William L. Smith, of Springfield, for lieutenant governor. The republican convention met at Worcester seven days later. The assembling of this body, comprising over one thousand delegates, caused more excitement in the state, and attracted

more attention out of it, than that of any other convention ever held in Massachusetts. General B. F. Butler, whose determined efforts, for many months, had been to secure for himself the republican nomination for governor, personally attended the convention, and was conspicuous in directing the movements of his followers. A stormy debate, which took part early in the day between General Butler and his leading opponent, Congressman George F. Hoar, and the discussion which followed, resulted in a very decided vote adverse to the former. Immediately after the opening of the evening session, General Butler, whose wisdom had already discerned his strength in the convention, greatly surprised his followers and friends by withdrawing from the contest. Governor Washburn was then renominated by acclamation, and in November he was re-elected by a majority of nearly thirteen thousand votes.

During the extra session of the legislature, in 1872, a resolution was adopted censuring Senator Charles Sumner for having introduced a bill in the United States Senate, declaring "that the names of battles with our fellow-citizens shall not be continued in the army register, or placed upon the regimental colors of the United States." Mr. Sumner was deeply aggrieved at the ill-advised censure of Massachusetts, and equally so were his friends and the vast majority of citizens in the commonwealth. Scarcely had the session for 1874 opened, when a large number of petitions, unanimously signed, were received, asking that the harsh resolution be rescinded. A resolution rescinding the resolution was promptly offered, and, after being long debated upon, was adopted in both branches of the General Court.

A few weeks later, on the 11th of March, Charles Sumner,

after a very brief illness, died in Washington. Millions were in tears; and no death since that of the martyred president of the United States had so touched the hearts of the American people. Mr. Sumner was born in Boston on the 6th of January, 1811; was graduated from Harvard College in 1830; studied law, and was admitted to the bar in 1834, and from this time onward, until his election to the United States Senate, engaged himself in legal occupations, and conspicuously in the anti-slavery contest. "On the record of the grandest movement of the age," says a writer, "culminating in the dominion of right over wrong, in the liberation of millions from thralldom, and in the establishment of freedom over this broad continent, his name will ever stand conspicuous. Wherever in this wide world a human heart quivers beneath the rod of the oppressor, it will derive hope and inspiration from the fearless utterances of this illustrious champion in defence of civil rights, equality, and fraternity."

After the death of Senator Sumner, a long contest, extending over several weeks, took place in choosing his successor. The republican members of the legislature were divided in their preference, their two leading candidates being Henry L. Dawes and Ebenezer R. Hoar. The democrats voted for Benjamin R. Curtis. At length a compromise was effected, and William B. Washburn, governor of the state, was elected by a vote of one hundred and forty-nine out of two hundred and sixty-seven. On the 30th of April Governor Washburn resigned the executive chair to lieutenant governor Thomas Talbot.

Foremost among the acts of the legislature was one limiting the hours of labor for minors under eighteen years of age, and for women, in the manufacturing establish-

ments of the state to ten hours per day ; and an act abolishing the Board of State Police Commissioners, and giving the appointment of the chief of the force directly to the governor and council. An attempt was made to bring about the repeal of the prohibitory law, but it failed of its purpose. The work of the contractors for the completion of the Hoosac Tunnel was finished, and the tunnel surrendered to the state. The total cost of the tunnel to the 1st of January, 1875, was twelve millions nine hundred and seventy-three thousand eight hundred and twenty-two dollars.

The great question before the legislature of this year was the means to be used for utilizing the Hoosac Tunnel to the best advantage. Several plans were submitted, from time to time, in the legislature, but no agreement was reached upon any one of them. At length the subject was disposed of by referring it to "five competent and discreet persons as corporators," to be appointed by the governor, "who shall examine and report to the next legislature a plan for the utilization of the Troy and Greenfield Railroad and Hoosac Tunnel, and for the organization and perfection of one or more continuous consolidated lines of railroad from Boston to the Hudson River by way of the Hoosac Tunnel, with a view of promoting the establishment of one or more competing lines of railroad to the West."

On the 16th of May a dam, which confined a large reservoir in the upper part of the town of Williamsburg, in the county of Hampshire, broke away, causing a most disastrous flood. This reservoir contained the reserve water supply for the factories on Mill River, in the villages of Williamsburg, Haydenville, and Skinnerville in the town-

ship of Williamsburg, and Leeds and Florence in Northampton, and covered one hundred and twenty-four acres. The dam began to give way at about half past seven o'clock in the morning, and before any warning could be given the terrific flood had swept down the valley, overwhelming everything in its maddened course. This disaster occasioned a pecuniary loss of about one million five hundred thousand dollars; the greater part of Williamsburg and Leeds, and large portions of Haydenville and Skinnerville, were destroyed; two hundred lives were lost in the four villages, and numerous families were rendered homeless. This catastrophe was the result of the delinquency of the parties who were concerned in originating and constructing the dam and reservoir. The legislature voted one hundred thousand dollars for the relief of the sufferers.

The political campaign of the year was opened by the democratic convention, which assembled at Worcester on the 9th of September, and was characterized by the best of harmony and good feeling. William Gaston, of Boston, was nominated for governor, and William L. Smith, of Springfield, for lieutenant governor. The republican convention met on the 7th of October, and nominated Thomas Talbot for governor, and Horatio G. Knight, of Easthampton, for lieutenant governor. The election occurred on the 3d of November, and resulted in the choice of Mr. Gaston for governor, but to all the other state offices the republican candidates were elected. Governor Gaston's majority was seven thousand and thirty-two votes. There was a republican majority in the legislature of seventy-eight on a joint ballot.

In November, 1873, four women were chosen on the Boston school committee, to serve during the following

year. On the organization of the committee, in January, seats were refused to these women, on the ground that they were not legally qualified. The matter was carried to the legislature, and a bill was introduced declaring women not disqualified to act on school committees. In April, the judges of the Supreme Court ruled that there was no constitutional objection to the passage of such a bill. The Act was then passed in the legislature, on the last day of the session, declaring that sex was no disqualification for the office of school committee. No further action, however, was taken by the committee during the year, and the seats which the women were elected to occupy remained vacant. At the election of 1874, seven women were chosen on the school committee, and no objection was made to their admission.

The legislature of 1875 convened on the 6th of January, and was prorogued on the 19th of May, — the session of one hundred and thirty-four days being, with one exception, the shortest that had been held for ten years. The legislature passed two hundred and forty-three acts and seventy-eight resolves, all of which were signed by the governor.

The legislature of the preceding year appointed as corporators of the Hoosac Tunnel, William B. Washburn, Charles Francis Adams, Jr., P. A. Chadbourne, S. M. Crosby, and S. B. Stebbins; and early in the session of 1875 these gentlemen submitted an exhaustive report on the subject, and also a bill for the consideration of the legislature. This bill provided for the appointment, by the governor, of five persons to be directors of the Boston, Hoosac Tunnel, and Western Railroads, with all the powers exercised by directors of other railroad corporations. All the state property was to be transferred to these directors, and they were

to be authorized to consolidate with such lines as it might be found necessary to include in a through line to the West. A joint special committee appointed by the two branches of the General Court to consider the subject of the Hoosac Tunnel line of railroads, after long consideration, submitted a bill, which was substantially the same in its provisions as that recommended by the corporators. In the House, Mr. S. Z. Bowman, of Somerville, introduced as a substitute a bill embodying the "toll gate" plan, so called. It provided for the appointment of an official to have charge of the tunnel, under the direction of the governor and council; gave to all railroads which could reach the tunnel authority to run their cars through it, each car to be subject to a toll, the levying and collection of which should be the duty of the manager.

The bill also contained a provision, which was very obnoxious to many of the members. It was, that the contract with the Fitchburg Railroad Company, known as "the twenty per cent. contract," should be abrogated. This contract was entered into by the company mentioned, at a time when the state was hesitating as to the comparative expediency of abandoning the money already spent, or going on with the completion of the tunnel; and by it the company bound itself to pay to the state twenty per cent. of the net receipts for freight and passengers going through the tunnel. The contest on the proposition to abrogate this contract was of the bitterest character; but to the surprise of a great many, the bill with this provision was passed by both branches, and on the 30th of March was signed by the governor. Later in the session a bill appropriating one million three hundred thousand dollars for the purpose of carrying out the provisions of the preceding bill,

the laying of tracks, and so forth, was also passed by a very large vote.

The liquor question received also the early and earnest attention of the legislators, and on the 18th of February a bill was reported to the House to regulate the sale of intoxicating liquors. This bill provided for the repeal of the prohibitory law, and for the issuing of licenses by the mayors and aldermen of cities and by the selectmen of towns. It was amended in the House in many ways, and then was refused passage, and was recommitted to the joint special committee on the liquor law. The committee reported back the original bill substantially as at first reported, and in spite of opposition, it was passed through the House. In the Senate it was amended, and then, amendments and all, was carried through triumphantly, and was signed by the governor on the 5th of April. On the 1st of May it became a law of the commonwealth. A few days later the old state police force was abolished, and a bill establishing a state detective force was passed. This bill provided for the appointment by the governor of a chief of the state detective force, and as many state detectives, not exceeding thirty in number, as the governor and council might determine; it conferred all the powers of police and all the powers of constables, with the exception of the service of civil process; and provided that all property of the commonwealth in the hands of the state police should be transferred to the new force.

The interests of the city of Boston occupied a full share of the attention of the legislature. A bill was passed providing for the appointment of commissioners to take lands for the laying out of public parks within the city, and authorizing them to co-operate with commissioners appointed

by adjoining cities and towns, in the laying out of such parks. On the 9th of June, a majority of the citizens of Boston, at a special election, voted in favor of this measure. Later in the season a board of commissioners was appointed. On the 31st of March, an act to establish a water board for the city of Boston was passed. In the closing days of the session, the committee on the judiciary reported a bill providing for a board of education, which should take the place of the Boston school committee, to be composed of twenty-four unpaid members, to be elected at large; and a superintendent of schools and six supervisors, to be paid. This bill met with violent opposition in the House; and finally, a bill was passed containing the provisions of the judiciary committee's bill. The name "Board of Education" was also changed to School Committee. It then went to the Senate; and in that branch was referred to the committee on the judiciary, which body reported it back in a new draught, providing for the election of one member from each ward, and twelve at large. The Senate substituted the House bill, and it became a law.

On the fourth and final ballot for the election of a United States Senator to serve for the full term of six years from the 4th of March, which was taken on the 20th of January, Henry L. Dawes, of Pittsfield, was chosen by a vote of one hundred and forty.

On Monday, the 19th of April, occurred the centennial celebrations of the battles of Lexington and Concord. It was one of the memorable days of the year; and thousands came from all parts of New England and the whole country, to witness the patriotic proceedings. At Concord, the old places of historic fame were revisited with interest; there was a long procession, composed of military and civil organi-

zations ; an oration was delivered by George William Curtis, of New York ; an ode was read by Professor James Russell Lowell, and other literary and musical exercises enlivened the occasion. At Lexington, the attendance of people was much larger than at Concord. The programme for the day was of a similar character, and included an oration by Richard H. Dana, Jr., an ode by John G. Whittier, and poems and addresses by other distinguished personages. In each of the towns a public dinner was served under a huge pavilion erected for the purpose ; the decorations were profuse ; and in the evening, brilliant illuminations, and minstrelsy, and the dance concluded the festivities of a day never to be forgotten by the sons and daughters of the old commonwealth. The event was rendered more impressive by the attendance of the president of the United States and of several members of his cabinet.

Notwithstanding that the centennial celebrations at Lexington and Concord were on a scale of unusual magnificence, the 17th of June—the one hundredth anniversary of the Battle of Bunker Hill—proved, not alone for Massachusetts, but also for the country, one of the most remarkable days of the century. In anticipation of the occasion, the most extensive preparations were made by the city of Boston, and invitations to be present were sent to the principal executive officers of the United States, and governors of the several states ; and the entire militia organization of the state were ordered out for review and for escort duty. It being a legal holiday, the public buildings and offices throughout the commonwealth were closed, and all business, except that connected with the celebration, was suspended. All of the public buildings in Boston and Charlestown District, and also many private buildings, were

handsomly decorated with flags, bunting, and flowers. At all points of historic interest connected with the revolutionary battle inscriptions were placed, giving a clear and concise statement of the event to be commemorated. The procession included, besides the militia of the state, numerous military organizations from all the New England states, and from New York, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, and South Carolina. It moved in nine divisions, and the time occupied in passing a given point—all delays being deducted—was three hours and fifty minutes.

The services on Bunker Hill were held in a large pavilion, erected on the southerly side of the monument grounds. The civic procession reached the hill about a quarter before six, and the seats in the pavilion were soon filled. After prayer by the Rev. Rufus Ellis, D. D., and a hymn which was rendered by the Apollo Club of Boston, Charles Devens, Jr., the soldier, the scholar, and the jurist, delivered an address, which was listened to with close attention. Speeches were also made by the Hon. G. Washington Warren, Major General Sherman, Vice President Wilson, and by several governors of states.

The one hundredth anniversary of the day when Washington assumed command of the American army was celebrated at Cambridge on the 3d of July. Almost directly under the shade of the venerable elm beneath which the Father of his Country formally unsheathed his sword, the jovial festivities were conducted. The celebration was both dignified and appropriate, and without any parade or procession. The value of the day as an anniversary lay chiefly in the local pride Cambridge citizens felt in it, and accordingly the observance was made mainly a local one. A tent was erected on the Common for the spectators, who num-

bered not more than three thousand. An oration was delivered by Rev. Dr. A. P. Peabody, of Harvard College, and an original poem was read by Professor James Russell Lowell. The programme for the afternoon included a public dinner in Memorial Hall, and a children's celebration. In the evening an open-air concert was given on the Common; and the whole scene was enlivened and made effective by brilliant illuminations.

The political campaign of the year was opened at Worcester, on the 22d of September, by the meeting of the democratic state convention. After reiterating the declarations comprehensively made by the National conventions at Cincinnati and Baltimore, in 1872, the convention adopted resolutions, opposing "any further issue by the government of a currency inconvertible with gold, — the world's recognized measure of values, —" and favoring "a speedy return to specie payments as essential to the revival of the commerce, business, and credit of the country, and to the welfare of the laboring masses." The convention expressed its customary horror of the republican party, which it arraigned "for extravagant expenditures and profligate waste of the people's money; for its corruption, for its peculations; and for its general mismanagement of both the state and federal governments." "We take an honest pride," said the convention, "in the cordial and enthusiastic approval by the people of the whole country, on the 17th of June, 1875, of the policy of reconciliation, peace and fraternity, advocated by the democratic and liberal republican parties in 1872, and we welcome with especial satisfaction the assurance that that policy will be inaugurated by the administration to be placed in power in 1876." William Gaston was nominated for governor by the convention, and William F. Bartlett

for lieutenant governor. General Bartlett subsequently declined the nomination; and the state central committee substituted the name of John Quincy Adams, of Quincy.

The republican state convention assembled at Worcester on the 29th of September, and initiated a new departure. Vice President Wilson presided at the convention, and delivered a speech that was generally regarded as sound in its conclusions and sensible in its suggestions. Resolutions were adopted, "that the president of the United States is entitled to the gratitude of the country for the independence, courage, and good sense with which, in an urgent crisis of affairs, he has assumed the great responsibilities of his office, and maintained the national honor and credit; that sound reason requires that the tenure of the chief magistracy of the United States shall not exceed a second term; that the national government is sacredly bound to fulfil its promises by the speediest possible return to specie payment;" and "that as an irredeemable currency is a national evil, and when it continues beyond the necessity of its creation, a nation's reproach; that the demoralization of values caused by the inflation of the national currency, while it tends to place the earnings of labor, which depend on the steadiness and uniformity in the measure of values, in the power of speculators in gold and credit, also involves the demoralization of public and private conduct, credit, and expenditure, speculation in the place of thrift, ultimate prostration of trade and industry, risk of incurring crime and dishonor, and the whole train of evils which follow any departure from the honest ritual that keeps its word, and pays as it goes."

Four candidates for the governorship stood prominently before the convention. These were Alexander H. Rice, of

Boston, Charles Francis Adams, of Quincy, George B. Loring, of Salem, and H. L. Pierce, of Boston. On the third ballot Mr. Rice received five hundred and seventy-six votes out of nine hundred and ninety-eight that were cast, and was therefore declared the nominee of the convention. Horatio G. Knight was renominated for lieutenant governor.

On the 6th of October, the prohibitory party assembled in convention in Boston, "to consider their duty in the present campaign, and the best measures to be taken to secure the repeal of the existing law." After adopting a platform conforming to the views of the party, the convention nominated John I. Baker, of Beverly, for governor. On the same day, about thirty labor reformers gathered at Worcester, and after adopting resolutions in favor of the concentration of effort on the reduction of the hours of labor, advising the workingmen to keep aloof from all the existing political parties, favoring the making of greenbacks legal tenders for duties and all debts, and denouncing the "national bank system" as one of the greatest swindles on a patient people, nominated Wendell Phillips for governor.

The annual election took place on the 2d of November; and Mr. Rice was chosen by a plurality of five thousand three hundred and six votes. Horatio G. Knight was re-elected lieutenant governor, Henry B. Peirce, of Abington, secretary of state, Julius L. Clarke, of Newton, auditor, Charles Endicott, of Canton, treasurer, and Charles R. Train, of Boston, attorney general.

On the morning of the 22d of November, Vice President Henry Wilson died suddenly in Washington. Although he had been ill for several days, his death was wholly unexpected. The life of the deceased was full of lessons of surpassing importance to the student of American history; and

in many respects he was a representative American statesman, in that his birth and origin were humble and obscure, his name unknown to the great world, and in that he rose by means of his own individual exertions through successive steps to the brightest renown. Posterity will cherish his crowning virtues—his humanity, industry, and honesty. He was born at Farmington, New Hampshire, on the 16th of February, 1812.

The History of Massachusetts has now been traced from the foundation of the colony at Plymouth to the present time—a period of nearly two hundred and seventy-six years. It is unnecessary to sum up the incidents that have been recorded, or to do more than to add that the great lessons which they teach us are, confidence in the integrity of the people, confidence in their capacity for self-government, and confidence in that religious principle which is always the safeguard of freedom. The founders of the commonwealth, believing that a republican government could be maintained only by a moral and intelligent population, desired, first of all, to educate their children, to inspire industry, frugality, and integrity, and to encourage and develop the useful arts. Grateful for the prosperity so largely enjoyed by us, and while looking forward to that which is advancing, we can but utter our solemn aspiration, “As God was to our fathers, so may He be to us!”

INDEX.

- Abbot, Archbishop, 27.
 Abbott, J. G., 514.
 Abenakis Indians, 144, 148, 209.
 Abercrombie, Colonel, 319.
 Abercrombie, General, 215, 219, 221, 222.
 Academy of Arts and Sciences, 348.
 Acadia, 61, 117, 136, 143, 149, 150, 210-212.
 Acton, town of, 304, 305, 309.
 Adams, Charles Francis, 456.
 Adams, John, 218, 248, 250, 266, 276, 282-289, 292, 313, 334-338, 382, 390-393, 399, 409, 417.
 Adams, John Quincy, 399, 414-419, 426, 438, 452, 456.
 Adams, John Quincy, 532, 536, 539, 561.
 Adams, Samuel, 230, 240, 249, 262-268, 275, 282-291, 293, 300, 301, 310-313, 351, 386.
 Agricultural College, 532.
 Aix-la-Chapelle, treaty of, 199.
 Albany, 151, 198, 203, 208, 213, 215, 340, 377.
 Albemarle Sound, 6.
 Alcock, Mr., 35.
 Alden, John, 66.
 Alexander, Indian chief, 101.
 Allen, Charles, 457.
 Allerton, Isaac, 22-25, 65.
 Almanac, New England, 73.
 Almshouses, 412.
 American Party, 481.
 Amherst, Jeffrey, 219-225.
 Amherst, town of, 532.
 Amory, J. C., 496.
 Amsterdam, 3.
 Anabaptists, the, 191.
 Andover, town of, 141, 159, 348, 443.
 Andrew, John A., 486, 487, 490, 498, 500, 503, 504, 514, 515, 523, 524, 526.
 Andros, Sir Edmund, 123-128, 130-136.
 Annapolis, 150, 202, 210.
 Anne, Queen, 185.
 "Anne," the ship, 18, 19.
 Anson, Admiral, 199.
 Antietam, battle of, 503.
 Anti-Federalists, 383, 411.
 Anti-Masonry, 423.
 Antinomianism, 46, 191.
 Appleton, Major, 107, 130.
 Aquidneck, 46.
 Arlington, town of, 301.
 Arminianism, 191.
 Armstrong, S. T., 425.
 Ashburton, Lord, 440-441.
 Assawomset Pond, 102.
 Atkinson, Theodore, 204.
 Attleboro' Gore, 111.
 Augusta, town of, 206.
 Austin, James T., 433.
 Ayer, Samuel, 147.
 Back Bay lands, 484.
 Balch, John, 28.
 Ball's Bluff, battle of, 498.
 Baltimore Riot, 491.
 Bancroft, George, 438.
 Banks in Massachusetts, 349, 430, 431, 434, 435, 465, 490.
 Banks, Nathaniel P., 458, 459, 466, 476, 482-485, 502, 504, 505, 507.
 Barlow, General, 524.
 Barnes, James, 496.
 Barnstable, town of, 14, 26.
 Barré, Colonel, 257, 268-271, 279, 290.
 Barrett, Colonel James, 303-305.
 Barrett, Samuel, 347.
 Bartlett, W. F., 505, 517.
 Baum, Colonel, 340.
 Beach, E. O., 482, 486.
 Beau Basin, 210.
 Beauchamp, John, 13.
 Beaufort, town of, 138.
 Beau Sejour, 210.
 Bedford, Duke of, 227.
 Bedford, town of, 309.

- Belcher, Jonathan, 186-191, 227.
 Bellamont, Earl of, 133.
 Bellingham, Richard, 40, 48, 93, 94.
 Bennington, battle at, 340.
 Berkshire Jubilee, 443.
 Bernard, Francis, 229, 240-246, 263, 268, 270, 277, 282, 292, 296.
 Beverly, town of, 169, 309.
 Billerica, town of, 141, 159, 306, 309.
 Bishop, Bridget, 163.
 Block Island, 49, 50.
 Board of Education, 428, 437, 448, 449.
 Board of Trade, 229, 237, 238, 251.
 "Body of Liberties," the, 57, 58.
 Boscawen, Admiral, 219, 220.
 Boston, 11, 36, 37, 52, 59, 60, 62, 65, 68, 86, 87, 89, 93, 104, 107, 120, 122, 124-126, 177, 180, 186, 191, 193, 199, 240, 248, 249, 261, 266, 272, 281, 283, 284, 287, 289, 291, 293, 296, 300, 312, 324-332, 339, 353, 377, 389, 401, 407, 409, 412, 423, 425, 429, 430, 434, 452, 459, 463, 474, 481, 490, 531, 548, 552, 560.
 Boston Harbor, 287, 295.
 Boston Massacre, 275.
 Boston Port Bill, 290, 291, 326.
 Boutwell, G. S., 458-461, 476, 550.
 Bowdoin, James, 230, 282, 347-352, 374, 378.
 Bowler, George, 505.
 Boylston, Dr., 180.
 Braddock, General, 206, 207.
 Bradford, Governor William, 9-14, 20, 25.
 Bradford, Major, 107, 130.
 Bradstreet, Colonel John, 195, 221.
 Bradstreet, Simon, 34, 36, 84, 87, 94, 126, 130.
 Braintree, town of, 43, 48, 68.
 Brattle, William, 216.
 Breeden, Captain, 94.
 Breed's Hill, 315, 318.
 Brenton, Mr., 131.
 Brewster, William, 9.
 Bridge, Colonel, 314, 318, 323.
 Bridgewater, town of, 114.
 Briggs, Governor George N., 443-455, 458.
 Bristol, England, 6, 20.
 Brookfield, town of, 104, 105.
 Brookline, town of, 309.
 Brooks, Governor John, 317, 378, 408-414.
 Brooks, Preston S., 480.
 Brooks, Rev. Charles, 426, 427.
 Brooks tavern, 307.
 Browne, John, 29, 31.
 Browne, Samuel, 29, 31.
 Bruce, Major, 319.
 Brunswick, Maine, 181.
 Buchanan, James, 482.
 Buckman's tavern, 302.
 Buffinton, James, 476.
 Bulkley, Peter, 118.
 Bullock, Governor A. H., 523-533.
 Bull Run, battle of, 491.
 Bunker Hill, 309, 312-325, 330, 417, 561.
 Burdet, Mr., 62.
 Burgess, Colonel, 175.
 Burgoyne, General, 299, 314, 321, 340-342.
 Burke, Edmund, 251, 290, 326.
 Burke, William, 281.
 Burlingame, Anson, 481.
 Burnet, William, 185-187, 227.
 Burns, Anthony, 469.
 Burnside, General, 502, 503, 506.
 Burrill, J. S., 504, 510.
 Burroughs, Edward, 83.
 Burroughs, George, 165, 166.
 Burton, Colonel, 224.
 Bute, Earl of, 238, 245.
 Butler, Benjamin F., 486, 490, 497, 498, 502, 503, 528, 545, 548.
 Butler, Major, 319.
 Butler, William O., 456.
 Buttrick, Major John, 305, 306.
 Buzzard's Bay, 22.
 Byles, Mather, 185.
 Cabot, John, 6.
 Cabot, Sebastian, 6.
 Calhoun, John C., 419, 478.
 Calhoun, W. B., 438.
 Callender, Captain, 319.
 Callières, M. de, 138.
 Cambridge, 36, 40, 45, 69, 70, 71-73, 100, 180, 190, 269, 275, 280, 281, 283, 287, 293, 299, 301, 308, 309, 312-315, 318, 321, 324, 340, 347, 436, 523, 562.
 "Cambridge Platform," 73.
 Camden, Lord, 229, 257, 259, 265, 271, 297.
 Canada, 136, 142, 143, 145, 149, 150, 153, 216, 222, 225, 333, 340.
 Candy, Indian girl, 159, 160.
 Canonchet, Indian chief, 108.
 Canonicus, Indian chief, 12, 51, 52.
 Cansau, 182, 193, 194.
 Cape Ann, 19-21, 27, 28, 332.
 Cape Breton, 193, 199.
 Cape Cod, 7, 8, 11, 12, 14, 65, 96.
 Cape Sable, 65.
 Carey, Mrs., 160.
 Carlisle, town of, 305, 309.

- Carrier, Martha, 167.
 Cartwright, Colonel George, 90.
 Carver, John, 9-11.
 Casco, 144.
 Cass, Lewis, 456, 478.
 Castine, Baron de, 181.
 Castine, town of, 143, 343, 344.
 Castle Island, 42, 60, 89.
 Castle William, 293.
 Catechism, Eliot's, 73.
 Channing, W. E., 428, 432.
 "Charity," the ship, 19, 20.
 Charlemont, Lord, 259.
 Charles I., King, 27, 54, 64, 77.
 Charles II., King, 72, 83, 85-90, 94, 95, 117, 123.
 Charles River, 28, 35, 317, 324.
 Charlestown, 11, 31, 35-37, 60, 69, 72, 155, 160, 275, 287, 299, 300, 301, 309, 312, 314, 315, 318, 321, 521.
 Charter, the, 54, 56, 76, 79, 87-91.
 Chase, Salmon P., 478.
 Chatham, Earl of, 258, 296-298. (See Pitt.)
 Chatham, town of, 14.
 Chauncy, Charles, President of Harvard College, 191, 192.
 Chelmsford, town of, 305, 309.
 Chelsea, 48, 314, 317.
 Chesterfield, Lord, 258.
 Chicopee, town of, 369.
 Choiseul, M. de., 257, 259.
 Christison, Wenlock, 83.
 Church, Captain Benjamin, 103-115.
 Church, Dr. Benjamin, 284.
 Clafin, Governor William, 524-539.
 Clare, Lord, 251.
 Clarendon, Lord, 40, 89.
 Clark, John, 179.
 Clark, Nathaniel, 126.
 Clark, Rev. Jonas, 301.
 Clark, Richard, 286.
 Clarke, Captain, 319.
 Clay, Henry, 420, 442, 478.
 Clayton, J. M., 478.
 Clifford, Governor John II., 464.
 Clinton, General, 299, 314, 322.
 Coalition of 1850, the, 458.
 Cochituate, Lake, 452.
 Coddington, William, 34, 35.
 Codman, C. R., 504.
 Coffin, F. J., 504.
 Cole's Hill, 9.
 Columbus, Christopher, 6.
 Colver, Nathaniel, 438.
 Comins, L. B., 476.
 Committee of Safety, 314.
 Conant, Roger, 27, 28.
 Concord, town of, 48, 98, 104, 141, 299-309, 560.
 Confederacy, the Puritan, 64.
 Confederacy of 1774, 74.
 Congregationalists, the, 81.
 Congress, Continental, 247, 292-295, 311-313, 325, 331, 334, 335, 337-340, 342-344, 349, 352, 353, 377.
 Congress, General, 381, 382, 384, 385, 391, 394, 400, 404, 407, 412, 414, 418, 434, 435, 439, 442, 446, 447, 473, 476, 486, 489.
 Congress, Provincial, 295, 311, 313, 319.
 Connecticut, 37, 49, 56, 72, 74, 80, 82, 89, 93, 96, 123, 124, 137, 149, 155, 194, 208, 311, 312, 324, 336, 349.
 Connecticut River, 49, 50, 105.
 Constitution, the Federal, 376-383.
 "Constitution," the frigate, 392.
 Constitution, the State, 347, 348, 485.
 Convent of St. Ursula, 422.
 Conway, General, 250, 253, 255-257, 279, 344.
 Cooke, Captain, 220.
 Copp's Hill, 317.
 Corey, Giles, 168.
 Corey, Goodwife, 159.
 Corlet, Master, 72.
 Cornwallis, Edward, 201.
 Cotton, Rev. John, 37, 39, 43, 45.
 Couch, General D. N., 524.
 Council for Plantations, the, 117, 121.
 Craddock, Matthew, 32, 59, 64.
 Cromwell, Oliver, 40, 79, 80.
 Crown Point, 199, 207, 208, 213, 214, 219-222.
 Cudworth, Major James, 103, 104.
 Cumberland, Lord, 215.
 Curtis, George T., 463.
 Cushing, Thomas, 230, 282, 283, 299, 348.
 Cushing, William, 377.
 Cushman, Robert, 14, 19, 21.
 Dalrymple, Colonel, 266, 274, 275, 282.
 Damarin's Cove, 13.
 Dana, R. H., Jr., 523, 561.
 Danvers, town of, 309.
 Dartmouth, Earl of, 251, 284, 296, 325, 326.
 "Dartmouth," the ship, 288.
 D'Aulney, 66.
 D'Anville, Duc de, 198.
 Davenant, Charles, 226.
 Davenport, Captain, 89.
 Davis, Captain Isaac, 305, 306.

- Davis, Governor John, 421-424, 437, 438, 441, 465.
 Davis, Jefferson, 478.
 Davis, Mr., 147.
 Dawes, H. L., 560.
 Dawes, William, 301.
 Day, Luke, 368, 369, 373.
 Daye, Stephen, 72.
 Deane, Thomas, 94.
 Dearborn, General, 403.
 Declaration of Independence, 385-389, 347.
 Dedham, town of, 48, 99, 309.
 Deerfield, town of, 106, 144, 146.
 De Kalb, General, 260.
 De Lancey, Governor, 208.
 Delaware, 336.
 Delfthaven, 5.
 Democratic Party, 411, 414, 418, 423, 436, 442, 456, 458, 460, 461, 474, 476, 477, 479, 482, 486, 532, 536, 544, 547, 552, 556, 563.
 Descartes, 46.
 Devens, Charles, Jr., 496, 524, 562.
 Devens, Richard, 300.
 Devonshire, Duke of, 218.
 D'Iberville, 143.
 Dickinson, Mr., 338.
 Dieskau, General, 208-210.
 Dinwiddie, Governor, 202.
 Dorchester Company, 21, 27, 29.
 Dorchester, town of, 20, 29, 38, 40, 49, 53, 60, 72, 309, 314, 329.
 Douglas, Stephen A., 472, 478.
 Dover, town of, 65, 85.
 Dowdeswell, 290.
 Dress, modes of, 361, 362.
 Duchambon, 195, 197.
 Dudley, Joseph, 120-128, 133-135, 144, 175, 227.
 Dudley, Thomas, 34-40, 48.
 Dummer, William, 184, 187.
 Dunster, Henry, 70, 191.
 Dustin, Hannah, 141.
 Dutch, the, 22, 46, 49, 61, 63, 80, 90.
 Duvivier, 193.
 Duxbury, town of, 26.
 Dwight, Edmund, 429.
 Dyer, Mary, 83.
 East India Company, 286, 287.
 Eaton, Nathaniel, 70.
 Education fostered, 69.
 Edwards, Jonathan, 191.
 Egg Islands, 152.
 Egremont, Earl of, 236-238.
 Election Sermon, 78.
 Eliot, John, 97-100.
 Elizabeth, Queen, 1, 6.
 Emerson, George B., 428.
 Emerson, Rev. William, 303, 304.
 Endicott, John, 28, 29, 31, 41, 48, 50, 84, 93.
 Episcopacy, 31, 191.
 Eppendorff, Max, 498.
 Essex, county of, 49.
 Eustis, Governor William, 414.
 Everett, Governor Edward, 425-431, 436, 449, 465, 478, 521.
 Fairfax, Sir Thomas, 52.
 Falmouth, town of, 183.
 Faneuil Hall, 266, 275, 286, 287, 292, 407, 418, 419, 422, 429, 432, 438, 442, 447, 452, 460, 470, 471, 481, 491, 523.
 Federalists, the, 383, 411, 413, 414.
 Fenwick, Bishop, 423.
 Filcher, Mr., 24.
 Fillmore, Millard, 456-459, 482.
 Fish, Hamilton, 478.
 Fletcher, Governor of New York, 162.
 Follansbee, Albert S., 504.
 Follett, Dexter H., 497.
 Forbes, Joseph, 219, 220.
 Forefather's Rock, 8.
 Fort Cumberland, 207.
 Fort Duquesne, 201, 206, 207, 220.
 Fort Edward, 208, 209, 216, 218.
 Fort Frederick, 208.
 Fort Frontenac, 213, 214, 221.
 Fort Halifax, 206.
 Fort Lawrence, 210.
 Fort Massachusetts, 199.
 Fort Mystic, 52.
 Fort Narragansett, 107.
 Fort Necessity, 203.
 Fort Niagara, 207, 213, 214, 222.
 Fort Pemaquid, 65, 134, 143, 148.
 Fort Piscataqua, 124.
 Fort Sumter, 488.
 Fort Toronto, 214.
 Fort Western, 206.
 Fort William Henry, 134, 213, 216, 217.
 "Fortune," the ship, 12.
 Fox, Charles James, 215, 345.
 Fox, George, 82, 83.
 Framingham, town of, 309.
 France, 8, 135, 136, 143.
 Franklin, Benjamin, 192, 203-206, 229, 230, 254, 282, 335, 338, 345, 377.
 Free Soil Party, 456-461, 464, 474, 476.
 Fremont, J. C., 482.
 French, the, 61, 63-66, 81, 135, 137, 141-150.
 Frontenac, Count, 137-140.

- Fryeburg, town of, 183.
 Frye, Colonel, 814.
 Fugitive Slave Law, 459, 460, 469, 474, 485.
 Fuller, Rose, 289.
 Gabarus Bay, 220.
 Gadsden, Christopher, 249.
 Gage, Thomas, 250, 266, 291-300, 301, 308, 313-318, 324, 325.
 Gainsborough, church at, 8.
 Gardner, Colonel, 318, 323.
 Gardner, Governor Henry J., 476-483.
 Garrison, William Lloyd, 434.
 Gaspereaux, 211.
 Gaston, William, 560-563.
 Gates, General, 340, 343.
 Gedney, Bartholomew, 162.
 General Court of Massachusetts, 45, 62, 64, 73, 74, 78, 80, 85-90, 118, 123, 128-136, 148, 151, 176, 199, 206, 239, 248, 249, 258, 262, 269, 280-285, 290-295, 332, 333, 339, 341, 344, 247, 365-370, 373, 397, 401, 413, 464, 466, 469, 479, 482, 483, 519, 528, 533, 536, 549, 555, 559.
 Genet, Citizen, 387, 388.
 George I., King of England, 135, 175, 185.
 George II., King of England, 197.
 George III., King of England, 231, 232, 236, 399.
 Georgetown, 181.
 Georgia, 213, 336, 338.
 Germain, Lord George, 326.
 Gerrish, Samuel, 314.
 Gerry, Governor Elbridge, 300, 376, 377, 391, 396-399.
 Gerrymandering, 399.
 Gill, Lieutenant Governor Moses, 393.
 Gilmore, P. S., 538, 548.
 Glass Works, 68.
 Gloucester, town of, 48.
 Glover, Joseph, 72.
 Goddard, Captain, 152.
 Goffe, Colonel, 85, 88, 106.
 Gorges, Robert, 18, 19, 59, 118, 119.
 Gorges, Ferdinando, 18.
 Gorges, Lord Edward, 61.
 Good, Sarah, 157, 163.
 Gore, Christopher, 395.
 Gorton, Samuel, 46-48, 79.
 Gortonists, the, 191.
 Grafton, Duke of, 250, 257, 265, 278, 326.
 Grammar schools, 72.
 Grand Council, the, 204.
 Grand Pré, 211, 212.
 Grant, General U. S., 508, 522, 546.
 Graves, Samuel, 313.
 Graves, Thomas, 29.
 Gould, J. P., 517.
 Gray, Samuel, 274.
 Great Awakening, the, 191.
 Green, Samuel, 73.
 Greene, General Nathanael, 314, 342.
 Greene, W. B., 496.
 Greenleaf, H. A., 505.
 Grenville, George, 237-345, 250, 253, 256, 260, 345.
 Gridley, Jeremiah, 231, 233.
 Gridley, Richard, 314-323.
 Grimké, Angelina E., 432.
 Griswold, C. E., 517.
 Groton, town of, 33, 52, 111, 141, 300.
 Guilford, Earl of, 261.
 "Guinea," the ship, 89.
 Hadley, town of, 105-107, 112.
 Hale, Rev. Mr., 172.
 Hale, Mrs., 170.
 Halifax, 201, 202, 211, 217, 220.
 Halifax, Earl of, 202, 237.
 Hall, R. B., 476.
 Hallowell, the comptroller, 263, 318.
 Hamlin, Hannibal, 486.
 Hampton Falls, 189.
 Hancock, John, 263, 264, 286, 298-301, 313, 348, 351, 374, 377, 386.
 Harrison, William Henry, 438.
 Hartford, 37, 52, 63, 64, 352.
 Hartford Convention, 405-407.
 Hartshorne, Thomas, 147.
 Harvard College, 70, 71, 132, 352, 435, 449, 523.
 Harvard, Rev. John, 69, 71.
 Haskins, Mrs., 160.
 Hatfield, town of, 106, 112.
 Hathorn, Justice, 161.
 Hathorne, Major, 94, 130.
 Haverhill, town of, 48, 141, 142, 147.
 Hawley, Joseph, 282.
 Haynes, Israel, 461.
 Haynes, John, 37, 40, 49, 64.
 Hayward, James, 307.
 Heath, General, 327, 343, 380, 381.
 "Hector," the ship, 42.
 Henschman, Captain Daniel, 103.
 Henry, Patrick, 293.
 Higginson, Francis, 30, 31, 35.
 Higginson, T. W., 470.
 Hill, General, 151.
 Hillsborough, Earl of, 238, 262, 263, 277, 281-284.
 Hinckley, Thomas, 127.
 Hingham, town of, 48, 426.
 Hinks, E. W., 496.

- Hoar, Samuel, 438.
 Hobby, Sir Charles, 149.
 Hobomok, 12-15.
 Hocking, 66.
 Holbrook, C. L., 504.
 Holland, 5, 81.
 Holmes, Abiel, *quoted*, 116.
 Holmes, O. W., 444, 524.
 Holyoke, town of, 112.
 Hooker, General Joseph, 506-508.
 Hooker, Richard, 226.
 Hooker, Thomas, 37, 49, 64, 76
 Hooper, Samuel, 523.
 Hoosac Tunnel, 469, 528, 531, 535,
 541, 555, 557.
 Hopkins, Stephen, 7.
 Hopkins, Stephen, Governor of Rhode
 Island, 204.
 Hosmer, Abner, 306.
 Hosmer, Joseph, 305.
 House of Commons, 3, 17, 78, 85, 237-
 242, 249-259, 268-271, 281.
 House of Industry, 386, 413.
 House of Lords, 249, 256, 267, 270,
 281, 290, 296.
 House of Representatives established,
 56.
 Howe, General, 299, 314-330.
 Howe, Elizabeth, 163.
 Howe, Lord, 219, 221.
 Howe, Mrs. J. W., 524.
 Howe, S. G., 470, 471.
 Hubbard, Rev. William, *quoted*, 16, 70.
 Hubbard, Thomas, 216.
 Hudson's Bay, 6, 143.
 Hudson River, 61, 90.
 Hull, town of, 49.
 Humphrey, John, 28, 34, 59.
 Hutchinson, Captain Edward, 104, 105,
 130.
 Hutchinson, Mrs. Anne, 42-46.
 Hutchinson, Thomas, 204, 216, 230-
 247, 262, 263, 268-274, 280-291,
 296.
 Hutchinson, William, 42.
 Indemnity Act, the, 370.
 Independents, the, 1, 3.
 Indian College, 100.
 Ireland, 8.
 Iron Foundries, 68.
 Iroquois Indians, 140, 151, 209.
 Ipswich, town of, 57, 65.
 Jackson, Andrew, 418-424, 434.
 Jacobs, Margaret, 168.
 Jamaica Plain, 314.
 James I., King of England, 1, 2, 6, 8,
 10, 27, 55.
 James II., King of England, 123, 143.
 James River, 6.
 Jamestown, 7.
 Jay, John, 387, 390.
 Jefferson, Thomas, 334-338, 393, 399,
 418, 440.
 Jenkinson, Charles, 238, 239.
 Jesuits, the, 65, 136.
 Johnson, Andrew, 518-532.
 Johnson, Arabella, 36.
 Johnson, Isaac, 34-36.
 Johnson, Sir William, 207-216, 223.
 Johnston, John, 147.
 Jones, E. F., 497.
 Jones, E. J., 505, 513.
 Jones, Margaret, 155.
 Kansas-Nebraska Bill, the, 472-479.
 Kennebec River, 21, 23, 66, 143, 148,
 206, 344.
 Keppel, Commodore, 206.
 Kimball, J. W., 505.
 King Philip's war, 96-117, 140.
 King William's war, 143.
 Kittery, 65.
 Knowles, Commodore, 199.
 Knowlton, Captain, 314.
 Know-Nothingism, 476.
 Knox, General, 273.
 Knox, John, 2.
 Kossuth, Louis, 463.
 Kuhn, Jacob, 377.
 Kurtz, John, 496.
 Labrador, 6, 143.
 La Canardière, 139.
 La Heve, fort at, 66.
 La Jonquière, 198.
 La Plaque, 137.
 La Tour, 65.
 Ladd, L. C., 491.
 Lafayette, General, 342, 417.
 Lake Champlain, 137, 209.
 Lake George, 208, 209, 217, 221.
 Lake Ontario, 222.
 Laloutre, Abbé, 210, 211.
 Lancaster, town of, 109, 141, 146.
 Langdon, President, 315.
 Lathrop, Mr., 414.
 Latimer, George, 438, 439.
 Laud, Archbishop, 27, 61, 62, 81.
 Laurie, Captain, 304.
 Lawrence, Abbott, 429, 431.
 Lawrence, Amos A., 486.
 Laws of the colony, 73.
 Learned, Colonel, 331.
 Lechmere's Point, 301, 327, 329.
 Lee, F. L., 504.
 Lee, General Charles, 313.

- Lee, General Robert E., 508
 Lee, H. C., 497, 530.
 Lee, Henry, 294.
 Lee, Mr., 300.
 Lee, Richard Henry, 333, 335, 336.
 Lee, W. R., 496.
 Leicestershire, 30.
 Leonard, S. H., 495.
 Leverett, John, 80, 85, 118.
 Leverett, Thomas, 37.
 Lexington, town of, 300-310, 429, 560.
 Leyden, 8.
 "Liberty," the sloop, 263.
 Liberty Tree, the, 245, 250, 257, 264, 286.
 Lincoln, Abraham, 486, 488, 489, 518, 522.
 Lincoln, General Benjamin, 332, 368-373.
 Lincoln, Governor Levi, 395, 414-421.
 Lincolnshire, 31, 34, 42.
 Lincoln, town of, 304, 305, 309.
 Liquor laws, 477, 530-559.
 "Little James," the ship, 18.
 Littleton, town of, 805, 309.
 Livingston, R. R., 335.
 Lloyd, James, 399.
 London Company, the, 6.
 Long Island, 333.
 Longueil M. de, 140, 217.
 Lords of Trade, the, 238.
 Loring, E. G., 469.
 Loring, G. B., 514, 523, 565.
 Loudoun, Earl of, 215-219.
 Louis XIV., King of France, 143.
 Louisville, 193, 195-202, 208-211, 217-220.
 Lovejoy, Rev. Elijah, 432, 433.
 Lovell, Solomon, 343.
 Lovewell, Captain John, 183.
 Lowell, 415, 464, 491, 522.
 Ludlow, Roger, 39.
 Ludlow, town of, 369.
 Lunatic Hospital, 416.
 Lyford, John, 19-21.
 Lyman, General, 208, 216.
 Lynn, town of, 36, 38, 48, 68, 309.
 "Lyon," the ship, 36.
 Machias, 65.
 Madeira Islands, 68.
 Madison, James, 395-404.
 Maine, 117, 119, 141-143, 340, 343, 351, 404, 408, 440, 441.
 Maisonforte, 196.
 Manhattan, 22, 80.
 Mann, Horace, 428, 449, 457.
 Manning, C. H., 498.
 Manomet, 23.
 Manufactures, 68.
 Marblehead, 332, 490.
 Marlborough, town of, 109, 151.
 Marshall, John, 391.
 Marsh, L. B., 505.
 Marshfield, town of, 296, 442.
 Martin, Captain, 490.
 Martin, Susanna, 163.
 Maryland, 6, 125, 336.
 Mascarene, General, 183.
 Mason, George, 377.
 Mason, John, 52, 53, 59-62, 118-120.
 Massachusetts Bay, 96.
 Massachusetts Colony, 26-53, 112, 117, 121.
 Massachusetts Company, 29, 32, 38, 52, 62.
 Massachusetts Indians, 11, 15, 102.
 Massachusetts Mint, 350.
 Massasoit, 10-15, 101.
 Mather, Cotton, 130, 134, 157-163, 166, 170, 173, 180.
 Mather, Increase, 122-130.
 Mather, Richard, 40.
 Mattaneng, 49.
 Mauduit, Mr., 240-261.
 May, Abby, 525.
 "Mayflower," the ship, 5-11.
 Mayhew, Jonathan, 97, 244, 246.
 McClellan, George B., 498-506.
 Meade, General, 508, 524.
 Medfield, town of, 111.
 Medford, town of, 301, 309, 314.
 Mercer, Colonel, 208.
 Merchant Adventurers, the, 19-23.
 Merriam, Mr., 307.
 Merrimack River, 16, 28, 144, 147.
 Merry Mount, 24.
 Messer, C. P., 505.
 Mexico, 6, 446, 447.
 Miantonomo, 47, 52.
 Middleborough, town of, 102.
 Middlesex Canal, 386.
 Miles, Mr., 103.
 Militia, 487, 528.
 Mill River disaster, 555.
 Mills erected, 68.
 Milton, town of, 112, 309.
 Minas, 202.
 Minot, George, 304.
 Minute Men, 296.
 Mishawum, 31.
 Missouri, 411, 412.
 Missouri Compromise, 412, 472, 479.
 Mitchell, General, 319.
 Mohawks, the, 144.
 Mohegans, the, 52, 96, 104, 107.
 Monamoycke, 14.
 Monckton, Colonel, 210, 223.

- Monhegan, 13-17.
 Monro, Colonel, 218.
 Monroe, James, 404, 411.
 Montcalm, General, 217-225.
 Montmorenci River, 228.
 Montreal, 137, 146, 150, 217, 225.
 Morrice, Secretary, 86.
 Morris, Robert, 349.
 Morse, A., 496.
 Morton, Governor Marcus, 436-442.
 Morton, Ichabod, 428.
 Moulton's Point, 318.
 Mount Benedict, 324, 422.
 Munhiggon, 20.
 Murray, General, 223.
 Mutiny Act, the, 243.
 Mystic River, 35, 324.

 Nantasket, 20, 36, 65, 137, 142, 199, 266, 333.
 Nantucket, 97.
 Narragansett Bay, 10, 22, 46, 51.
 Narragansett Indians, 12, 50-52, 81, 96, 104-109.
 Natick, town of, 99.
 National Bank, 349.
 National Republican party, 420, 421.
 Naumkeag, 27-30, 120.
 Nauset, 14.
 Needham, S. H., 491.
 Needham, town of, 309.
 Neponset, 98.
 Nesbit, Captain, 319.
 New England Council, 17, 25, 61.
 "New England First Fruits," 70.
 "New England Primer," 361.
 "New English Canaan," 25.
 New France, 219.
 New Hampshire, 45, 64, 117, 119, 149, 194, 197, 213, 311, 312, 324, 336.
 New Haven, 74.
 New Jersey, 336.
 New Netherland, 22, 90.
 New Orleans, 407.
 New York, 128, 137, 144, 149, 162, 217, 241, 249, 274, 333, 336-342, 352.
 Newbury, town of, 48, 141.
 Newcastle, Duke of, 216, 244.
 Newfoundland, 143.
 Newport, 312.
 Newton, town of, 98, 309.
 Newtown, 36, 38, 44, 49, 56, 64, 69.
 Niantick, 81.
 Nichols, Richard, 90.
 Nicholson, Francis, 149, 150.
 Nims, O. F., 497.
 Nipmucks, the, 96, 104, 109.
 Norfolk, 49.
 Normal schools, 426-429, 437, 448.
 Norridgewock, 181, 182.
 North, Lord, 261, 267, 271, 278-285, 290-298, 326, 345.
 North Carolina, 336.
 Northampton, town of, 112, 366, 531.
 Northfield, town of, 106.
 Norton, Captain, 49, 84, 87.
 Nova Scotia, 207, 210, 340.
 Noyes, Mr., 163, 165.
 Nugent, Mr., 251, 252.
 Nurse, Rebecca, 163.

 Oceanus, 7.
 Ohio River, 218.
 Old South Church, 275, 287, 288, 325.
 Oldham, John, 19-25, 49.
 Oliver, Andrew, 231, 244-246, 250, 275.
 Ontario, Lake, 206, 208.
 Orne, Mr., 300.
 Osborn, Sarah, 157.
 Oswald, Richard, 345.
 Oswego, 207-209, 215.
 Otis, Harrison Gray, 407, 422.
 Otis, James, 230-236, 243, 264, 268, 282-284.
 Otis, John, 216.
 Otis, Mrs. H. G., 525.
 Otis, Samuel A., 373.

 Paine, H. W., 514, 516, 519.
 Palfreys, Peter, 28.
 Pamlico Sound, 6.
 Paper money, 366, 435.
 Parker, Captain John, 302, 308.
 Parker, Isaac, 409.
 Parker, Theodore, 469, 471.
 Parkhurst, Noah, 306.
 Parkman, George, 458.
 Parliament of Great Britain, 3, 16, 27, 33, 61, 77, 85, 129, 186, 203, 206-219, 227, 232-247, 250-262, 265-296, 345.
 Paris, Mr., 156-172.
 Parsons, Captain, 804.
 Parsons, Theophilus, 373, 375, 523.
 Patterson, Colonel, 318.
 Patuxet, 10, 107.
 Pawtucket River, 111.
 Paxton, Captain, 318.
 Peace Jubilee, 538, 548.
 Peirce, E. W., 497.
 Peirson, G. H., 504.
 Pelham, town of, 369.
 Pemaquid River, 148.
 Pennsylvania, 336.
 Penobscot River, 66, 81, 144, 182, 202, 343.

- Pepperell, town of, 309.
 Pepperell, William, 193-199.
 Pequots, the, 49-53, 64, 96.
 Percy, Lord Hugh, 301, 308, 309, 319.
 Perkins, Thomas H., 407.
 Personal Liberty Act, the, 485.
 Pesaquid, 202.
 Peters, Hugh, 40, 78.
 Petersham, town of, 369.
 Phelps, A. A., 434.
 Philadelphia, 206, 293, 312, 324, 335, 349.
 Philip, King, 101-116.
 Phillips, 283.
 Phillips, Captain, 490.
 Phillips, John, 413.
 Phillips, Mr., 35, 36.
 Phillips, Samuel, Jr., 373.
 Phillips, Wendell, 432, 438, 470, 493, 542.
 Phips, Sir William, 128-142, 162.
 Phips, Spencer, 216.
 Pickering, Colonel, 309, 349.
 Pierce, Captain, 111.
 Pierce, Franklin, 465, 478.
 Pierce, Mr., 73.
 Pigot, General, 319-342.
 Pilgrims, the, 1-23, 31, 66, 80, 96.
 Pinckney, C. C., 391.
 Piscataqua, 25, 65.
 Pitcairn, Major, 302, 319.
 Pitkin, William, 204.
 Pitt, William, 216-225, 227-244, 251, 253-258, 270. (See Chatham, Earl of.)
 Pittsburg, 221.
 Pittsfield, town of, 444.
 Plunkett, T. F., 524, 525.
 Plymouth Colony, 1-23, 49, 60-72, 101, 126.
 Pocasset, 103, 14.
 Point Levi, 138, 322.
 Pole, Captain, 304.
 Polk, James K., 444.
 Pomeroy, Seth, 195.
 Pomeroy, S. C., 523.
 Porter, Joseph, 497.
 Portland, 351.
 Port Royal, 136, 149.
 Portsmouth, 65, 383.
 Powder-house, 293.
 Pownall, Thomas, 216, 227, 279, 290.
 Praying Indians, 99, 146.
 Pratt, Charles, 229.
 Prentice, Captain, 103.
 Prescott, Colonel William, 314-322.
 Prescott, Samuel, 303.
 Preston, Captain, 273, 276.
 Prideaux, General, 221.
 Printing press erected, 72.
 Proctor, John, 166.
 Prospect Hill, 308, 323, 341.
 Providence, 47, 51, 111.
 Provost, Major, 138.
 Puritans, the, 1, 27, 40, 66, 77, 80.
 Putnam, Israel, 209, 312-323, 327, 331.
 Pynchon, Mr., 35, 36.
 Quaboag, 104, 109.
 Quakers, the, 81-84, 191.
 Quebec, 136-140, 150-152, 198, 208, 211-214, 221.
 Quincy, Edmund, 422, 434.
 Quincy, Josiah, 400, 413, 417, 422, 429.
 Quincy, Josiah, Jr., 261, 267, 276, 288, 296.
 Quincy, town of, 23.
 Raleigh, Sir Walter, 6.
 Ramsey, M. de, 138, 224.
 Rand, A. A., 517.
 Randolph, Edmund, 377.
 Randolph, Edward, 118-128.
 Randolph, Peyton, 293.
 Rantoul, Robert, 474, 476.
 Rasières, M. de, 22.
 Rasles, Sebastian, 80-183.
 Rawdon, Lord, 319.
 Raynham, town of, 68.
 Razilla, 66.
 Reading, town of, 306, 309.
 Reed, James, 314, 317.
 Reform School, 477.
 Rehoboth, town of, 104.
 Republican party, the, 418, 474, 482, 486, 532, 536, 544, 552, 556, 564.
 Revenue Bill, the, 260, 262, 265.
 Revere, Paul, 300, 301.
 Revision of statutes, 436.
 Revolution, the war, 332-346.
 Rhode Island, 47, 51, 82, 93, 96, 103, 123, 162, 190, 194, 249, 311, 324, 336, 341, 484.
 Rice, Alexander H., 523, 565.
 Richards, John, 121, 162.
 Richelieu, Cardinal, 65.
 Richmond, Duke of, 281.
 Richmond, S. P., 504.
 Riot in Baltimore, 491.
 River Indians, 109.
 Roanoke Island, 6.
 Robinson, James T., 466.
 Robinson, John, 4, 21.
 Robinson, William, 83.
 Robinson William S., 466.
 Rockingham, Marquis of, 244, 250, 257, 281, 297, 345.

- Rolfe, Benjamin, 147, 148.
 "Romney," the ship, 263.
 Rosewell, Henry, 28, 29.
 Rotch, 288.
 Rouville, Hertel de, 144-147.
 Rowlandson, Mrs., 109-110.
 Rowley, town of, 48.
 Roxbury, 36, 38, 45, 72, 97, 275, 299, 309, 314, 324, 329, 331, 531.
 Ruggles, Timothy, 231, 317.
 Russell, H. S., 517.
 Rutledge, Edward, 249, 334-336.
 Ryswick, peace of, 143.
 Salem, 27, 31, 35, 41, 51, 59, 147, 156-165, 171, 186, 295, 309, 332.
 Salisbury, town of, 48.
 Saltonstall, Nathaniel, 162.
 Saltonstall, Richard, 59, 130.
 Saltonstall, Richard, 343.
 Saltonstall, Sir Richard, 34, 36.
 Samoset, 9, 10.
 Sandwich, town of, 23, 26.
 Saratoga, 341.
 Sargent, Paul Dudley, 312.
 Sargent, Peter, 163.
 Sassacus, 53.
 Sassamon, 102.
 Saunders, Sir Charles, 222, 223.
 Say, Lord, 89.
 Saybrook, town of, 50.
 Scituate, 26, 111.
 Schouler, William, 527.
 Schuyler, General, 144, 148.
 Scotland, 8.
 Scott, Colonel, 210.
 Scottow, Joshua, 93.
 Scrooby, church at, 8.
 Sedgwick, Robert, 80.
 Seekonk Plain, 104, 111.
 Separatists, the, 1.
 Sewall, Councillor, 313.
 Sewall, Samuel, 163, 172, 184.
 Seward, William H., 478, 479.
 Shanly, Walter, 535, 538.
 Shaw, Isaac, 423, 438.
 Shaw, Robert G., 507.
 Shawmut, 11, 36.
 Shawomet, 47, 48.
 Sharpe, Samuel, 29.
 Shattuck, Samuel, 83, 84.
 Shays, Daniel, 366-375.
 Shays's Rebellion, 364-375.
 Sheepscot River, 148.
 Sheffield, Lord, 19.
 Shelburne, Lord, 238, 257, 297, 345.
 Shepard, General, 366-369.
 Shepard, Thomas, 40.
 Sherman, Roger, 835.
 Ship-yards, 68.
 Shirley, William, 191-213, 214-216, 227.
 Short, Captain, 319.
 Shuldham, Admiral, 329.
 Shute, Samuel, 175-187, 227.
 Sims, Thomas, 463.
 Six Nations, tribe of, 203.
 Skelton, Samuel, 31.
 Slavery, 58, 350, 379, 411, 431, 439, 444, 448, 456, 464, 472, 481.
 Small-pox in Boston, 179, 328.
 Smith, Colonel, 302-309.
 Smith, William, 204.
 Socinianism, 191.
 "Somerset," the ship, 317.
 Southampton, 5, 7.
 South Carolina, 229, 336, 419, 420.
 Southcote, Thomas, 28, 29.
 "Sparrow," the ship, 13.
 Specie Circular, the, 434.
 "Speedwell," the ship, 5, 7.
 Spencer, General, 314.
 Spendlove, General, 319.
 Sprague, A. B. R., 505.
 Sprague, Ralph, 30.
 Sprague, Richard, 30.
 Sprague, William, 30.
 Springfield, 49, 366-369, 429.
 Squantum, 11.
 St. Charles River, 139, 223.
 St. Clair, General, 198.
 St. Croix River, 65, 125.
 St. George River, 143.
 St. Hélène, 140.
 St. John's River, 81.
 St. Lawrence River, 138, 151, 218.
 "St. Patrick," the ship, 42.
 Stamp Act, the, 239-265.
 Standish, Miles, 9, 26.
 Stark, General, 312, 317, 340.
 State Prison, 336, 416, 551.
 Stearns, G. M., 532.
 Stevenson, Marmaduke, 88.
 Stevenson, T. G., 497.
 Stone, Samuel, 37, 49.
 Story, Joseph, 32, 247, 485.
 Stow, town of, 309.
 Stowe, E. F., 505.
 Stoughton, Israel, 53.
 Stoughton, William, 118-132, 162, 172.
 Strafford, Earl of, 42.
 Strawberry Bank, 65.
 Strong, Caleb, 378-408.
 Subercase, 149.
 Sudbury, town of, 48, 112, 300, 309.
 Suffolk, county of, 49.
 Sullivan, James, 393-395.
 Sullivan, William, 342, 407.

- Sumner, Charles, 447-467, 472-482, 547, 553.
 Sumner, Increase, 390, 474.
 Sunday schools, 386.
 Supreme Judicial Court, 350.
 Suttle, Charles F., 469.
 Swan, Caleb, 482.
 "Swan," the ship, 14.
 Swanzey, town of, 102, 108.
 Sweetzer, Theodore H., 529.

 Taconnet Falls, 206.
 Tailor, Colonel, 149.
 Talbot, Thomas, 554.
 Tasker, Benjamin, 204.
 Taunton, 26, 104.
 Taylor, Charles A., 491.
 Taylor, Father, 423.
 Taylor, General Zachary, 447, 456.
 Tea Party, the Boston, 289.
 Temple, Lord, 244, 281.
 Temple, Thomas, 89.
 Texas, 444, 446.
 Thatcher, Oxenbridge, 230, 242, 249.
 Thames River, 49, 96.
 Thanksgiving, 11, 81.
 Thatcher, Anthony, 40.
 Theatre, first in Boston, 361.
 Thomas, General, 314, 329.
 Thompson, General, 379.
 Three Rivers, 137.
 Ticonderoga, 208, 213, 219, 221.
 Tisquantum, 18.
 Titcomb, General, 209.
 Tituba, 157.
 Townshend, Charles, 237, 257-261.
 Trade, Acts of, 177.
 Treat, Major, 106, 107.
 Trépézée, M. de, 221.
 Troy and Greenfield Railroad, 469, 528, 535.
 Tucker, Joseph, 536.
 Turner, Captain, 112, 113.
 Tyler, President, 441, 442.

 Uncas, 52, 104.
 Underhill, Captain, 53.
 Upton, Edward, 497.
 Usher, John, 119.
 Utrecht, Peace of, 188, 211.

 Van Buren, Martin, 420, 424, 456.
 Vane, Sir Henry, 40-55, 79.
 Vaudreuil, M. de, 148, 209, 217, 225.
 Vaughn, William, 195.
 Vergennes, Count, 345.
 Vernon, Admiral, 189.
 Vetch, Colonel, 150.
 Virginia Company, 4, 61.

 Wachusett, Mount, 96.
 Wadsworth, Captain, 112.
 Wainwright, Samuel, 147.
 Walker, H., 504.
 Walker, Sir Hovenden, 150-152.
 Walpole, Sir Robert, 188-192, 239.
 Walton, Colonel, 149.
 Wampanoags, 10, 96, 101.
 Ward, General Artemas, 311, 321, 331.
 Ward, Nathaniel, 57.
 Wardrop, Colonel, 498.
 Warren, Commodore, 193-199.
 Warren, Joseph, 264, 283, 293, 299, 318, 323.
 Warwick, Earl of, 79.
 Warwick, town of, 47, 107.
 Washburn, Emory, 469, 477.
 Washburn, W. B., 545, 548, 554.
 Washington, George, 202, 220, 225, 313, 324, 331, 341, 370, 382, 389, 407.
 Watertown, 36, 72, 309, 311, 340.
 Watson, 300.
 Webb, General, 216, 224.
 Webster, Daniel, 413-419, 423, 435, 440, 461, 478.
 Webster, John W., 453.
 Weitzell, General, 521.
 Welde, Joseph, 45.
 Wellesley, Marquis of, 72.
 Wells, Samuel, 216.
 Wenham, town of, 49.
 Wentworth, Thomas, 42.
 Wessagussett, 14, 19.
 West, Francis, 16.
 Westbrooke, Thomas, 181, 182.
 Western Railroad, 429, 431.
 Westfield, town of, 448.
 Westford, town of, 305, 309.
 West Indies, 68, 128, 142.
 Westminster Assembly, 77.
 Weston, Master, 13-16.
 Wetherby's tavern, 300.
 Weymouth, town of, 14, 111.
 Whalley, Major, 86, 139.
 Wheeler, 373.
 Wheeler, Captain, 104.
 Wheeler, Captain Timothy, 304.
 Wheeler, Sir Francis, 142.
 Wheelwright, John, 43, 45.
 Whetcomb, Simon, 28.
 Whigs, 421-425, 437-446, 456, 469, 477, 479, 482.
 White, Mr., 20, 28.
 Whitefield, George, 192, 239.
 Whiting, Colonel, 149.
 Whitney, A. O., 491.
 Whiton, J. C., 517.

- | | |
|--|---|
| <p>Wilds, Sarah, 163.
 Wilkes, Francis, 186.
 Willard, Councillor, 316.
 Willard, John, 166.
 Willard, Joseph, 348.
 Willard, Major, 105.
 Williams, Abigail, 161.
 Williams, Ephraim, 209.
 Williams, General, 219.
 Williams, Jonathan, 287.
 Williams, Mr., 144.
 Williams, R., 497.
 Williams, Roger, 47, 52, 82, 97.
 Williamstown, 199.
 Willoughby, Mr. 93, 94.
 Wilmot Proviso, the, 457.
 Wilson, Henry, 445, 456, 459, 461,
 466, 474, 476, 481, 496, 546, 564.
 Wilson, Mr., 36, 44.
 Wilson, Mr., 82.
 Windsor, town of, 49.
 Winslow, Edward, 9, 13, 19, 60, 66,
 79, 99.</p> | <p>Winslow, John, 126.
 Winslow, John, 210, 216.
 Winter Hill, 323, 341.
 Winthrop, John, 33, 51, 55, 70, 77, 89,
 122.
 Winthrop, R. C., 447, 460, 461.
 Winthrop, Wait, 162.
 Wise, Henry A., 439.
 Witchcraft delusion, the, 154-173.
 Woburn, town of, 48, 309.
 Wolfe, General James, 219-224.
 Wollaston, Captain, 23, 24.
 Wollaston, Mount, 23, 43.
 Woodbury, John, 28.
 Worcester, 141, 350, 368, 429.
 Wright's tavern, 303.
 Writs of Assistance, 232-235.
 Wyman, P. T., 496.
 Yarmouth, 26.
 York, Archbishop of, 60.
 Young, Sir John, 28.</p> |
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